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ADDRESSES, REVIEWS AND EPISODES
CHIEFLY CONCERNING THE "OLD
SIXTH" MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT
By B. F. WATSON, BREVET-COLONEL U. S. V.

NEW YORK CITY
NOVEMBER
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THE "OLD SIXTH" MASSACHUSETTS
REGIMENT AND BALTIMORE
APRIL NINETEENTH, 1861

AN ORATION

Delivered at Huntington Hall, Lowell, Massachusetts, on April 19th, 1886, the hospitality of the City of Lowell being on that day extended to the Governor of Massachusetts and other distinguished Citizens, and the Municipal Authorities of Acton, Boston, Groton, Lawrence, Stoneham and Worcester, in commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the passage through Baltimore of the 6th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, April 19th, 1861.

ORATION PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE "OLD SIXTH" ASSOCIATION.

COMRADES, FRIENDS:

In obedience to the commands of "The Old Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Association" at Acton one year ago, I have the honor now to present to you a few suggestions appropriate, as it seems to me, for your consideration on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the march of "The Sixth" through Baltimore April 19th, 1861.

It is meet that you indulge in exultation that your achievements, however fortuitous, have secured the homage of the people and Magistrates of this imperial Commonwealth; a Commonwealth less, indeed, than many of its sister States in extent of territory and population, in wealth and commerce, but surpassed by none in the industry, intelligence and virtue of its

people, in the wisdom of its laws and the uprightness and dignity of their administration. You are entitled to a just pride that you are the sons of sires who fought at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill; that you set out from Faneuil Hall—the very cradle of liberty; that you bore in the van the ensign of a State, not content to send to the front one out of every thirteen of her male inhabitants of military age, as did the colonists in the War of the Revolution; or one to every five, as did the loyal States in the War of the Rebellion, but only satisfied when she armed, equipped and marched 159,165 volunteers, or about 15 per cent. of her *entire* population, it being about 5,000 more than the whole number of males of the military age residing in the State at the breaking out of the Rebellion; a State whose active militia in time of peace numbered only about 5,500, in time of war about 160,000; a Commonwealth which cherishes to-day, enshrined in its Capitol and canopied by a hundred bullet-riddled battle-flags, a consecrated roll of honor, bearing the names of her dead heroes of a single war—434 officers of all ranks, from Lieutenant up to General, and of privates more than 12,000.

In the name of the Association which commemorates this thrice historic day, I am commissioned to express its thanks to those who honor us with their presence. Aside from our respect, eminently due to your high attainments and exalted personal character, we venerate, as was the ancient and should be the perpetual fashion, your dignity of office, the constitutional emblem of the wisdom and authority of the sovereign people of the State.

Having from earliest childhood been taught the lesson that respect for the Magistrate must stand inde-

pendent from opinions of the man and his views; that the privilege of free men to elect their rulers and to enact their laws has co-relation with the duty to obey the magistrate and uphold the laws at the cost of any sacrifice, the men of the "Old Sixth" found it logical, if not easy, to march, in 1861, to the support of a President who, though elected by a minority of 350,000 of the popular vote, and entertaining views of public policy at variance with the majority of the people, if not a majority of the regiment, nevertheless was constitutionally elevated to the Chief Magistracy of the Nation. The fundamental principle, then as now underlying government by the people—respect for the magistrate and obedience to the law—was on trial; and even had disaster attended the great struggle to vindicate this principle, the duty to sacrifice all to sustain it would have remained imperative still. The glorious consummation, reached through untold sacrifice, should indelibly inscribe on every American heart the lesson that purity in office, respect for the magistrate, obedience to Law, can alone perpetuate our liberties.

Comrades of 1861, survivors of the 700, who to-day have come to re-form your skeleton ranks; to renew the friendships of camp and battlefield; to revive the sacred memories of soldierly forms, who in their place rest; to listen to the echoes of the midnight cry of danger to the Nation's Capital, which inspired your rally under the banner of the Republic; welcome, thrice welcome here to-day. We forget not the absent who have been variously detained from this Quarter-Centenary; in your name I send greeting to absent comrades everywhere, with wishes of health and prosperity.

A quarter of a century has inscribed its unalterable record since the Sixth mustered and marched. The period of twenty-five years in the life of a nation which has just turned its first century point, constitutes an important factor in its history.

Twenty-five years in the life of an individual, particularly of one who has already reached maturity, as you had in 1861, are an important and dominating epoch in that individual existence, and justify us in "calling a halt" in the pursuits of life, and enjoying an hour's bivouac by the way-side, for rest, for reflection and for reminiscence.

The National domain, starting with 820,680 square miles belonging to the thirteen Colonies, has reached the imperial magnitude of 38 States and 11 Territories, and 3,559,091 square miles, and has since 1861 increased by the 600,000 square miles of Alaska. Since 1861 disjointed and widely separated States have been indissolubly tied together by the iron bands of three trans-continental railroads; making the journey from Oregon to Washington shorter in point of time than that John Adams was forced to make from Boston to Washington to assume the Presidency; and putting to rest the old-time theory that the Republic was doomed to break asunder by increasing extent of territory. Since 1861 the rebellion of 10 States and about 9,000,000 of people has been put down at the cost of a four years' war, the last year requiring the expenditure by the North alone, of \$3,000,000 a day; and the sovereignty of the Nation, and the indissolubility of the Union have been established, upon an appalling aggregation of slaughter of nobler lives, on the whole, than any war ever before sacrificed.

Since 1861 3,000,000 of slaves, a number exceeding all of the inhabitants of the country at the beginning of the Revolution, have been emancipated; and our country, which once in every part of it tolerated the institution of slavery, first impressed upon it in 1619, has abolished its presence forever from the domain of our flag; and the black man, "for his two hundred and fifty years of unrequited labor" as President Lincoln expressed it, has been compensated with the elective franchise. Since 1861, Winfield Scott, McClellan and Lee, Grant and Albert Sidney Johnston, Hancock and Stonewall Jackson, Farragut and Foote, Meade and Polk, Halleck and Walker, Burnside and Breckenridge, Hooker and Toombs, Custer and J. E. B. Stuart, and a great host of lesser leaders of the forces; Fillmore, Buchanan, Cass, Marcy, Guthrie and Cushing; Lincoln, with Seward, Chase and Stanton, of his Cabinet; all of the then nine Judges of the United States Supreme Court; Douglas and Alexander Stephens, Sumner and Benjamin, Andrew Johnson and Mason, Edward Everett and Yancy, Fessenden and Slidell, Morton, Trumbull, Hendricks, Henry Wilson, Thad. Stevens and Garfield of the Houses of Congress—all have passed away. A new generation of men has arisen; new rulers guide the Ship of State, and tens of thousands of the present voters were born since you mustered and marched.

These great changes remind us that the things whereof we affirm are fast becoming unfamiliar to the men of to-day, and if the story is to be preserved in incident, as doubtless it must be in outline, the narrative must soon be written from the facts of the case, that it may be as enduring as truth.

Samuel Adams, on April 19th, 1775, exclaimed, "O, what a glorious morning is this," when his patriotic and prophetic soul contemplated the blessings to oppressed man everywhere which were to follow "the shot heard around the world"; other patriots re-echoed his exclamation when, eight years thereafter, on the 19th of April, 1783, George Washington issued to the Continental forces the welcome order to cease hostilities in the successful war for Independence; others again re-echoed the exclamation when, upon the 19th of April, 1861, 86 years after Adams inspired it, the lineal descendants of the Minute Men of Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill shed their blood in the streets of Baltimore, that they might reach and rescue the Capital of the Nation from impending peril.

The names of Lexington, Concord and Baltimore are indissolubly linked as the initial events in the two great eras of our National history. The importance of each was accidental in the sense that they were not created by the designs of man, but came about through the providence of God. Neither engagement was great in splendor of circumstance or aggregation of force, or magnitude of immediate results, but both were memorable as the key note which controls the waiting forces of harmony and melody is memorable; and as the signal gun which precipitates suspended battle is memorable. Alike in both cases their position as starting points admits of no rivalry, and suffers no diminution, but rather gathers importance, in comparison with achievements of greater magnitude following them. They were the first blows in two great contests for the rights of oppressed man. If they differed in degree of moral significance, the palm may in some respects be diffidently claimed for 1861; for

the war of Independence possibly might have been averted by the payment of revenue; while the war of the Rebellion was evidently decreed as the only way to wipe the stain of slavery from the escutcheon of freedom—an “irrepressible conflict” admitting of no pecuniary compromise. Indeed, it is a question of some doubt whether the war of Independence would ever have been fought if the events which preceded 1775 had been controlled by the mature and cautious statesmen and soldiers of 1861, instead of by the youthful and impetuous leaders of 1775. “Old men for counsel, young men for war.”

In 1861 the questions to be decided were as I have said, not of trade and taxation, but the gravest problems in the realm of national morals ever presented to man for solution. They had passed the stage of compromise and were ripe for decision. How were three millions of black slaves to be disposed of in view of the fact that a part of the people of the country believed slavery morally wrong and a disgrace to a land boasting of its free institutions; while the other part believed in the divine right of slavery, and that it was guaranteed by the Constitution? In the opinion of President Lincoln as stated at Gettysburg, the momentous question at stake was, whether a “Government, of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

Even a cursory view of the causes which culminated in the resistance to the passage of the Union troops through Maryland, will make it evident that the seeds of the great Rebellion were unwittingly planted in the Constitution of the Republic, and consequently that there exists blood relationship between the affairs of Lexington and Baltimore.

The Revolutionary war, nominally of eight years' duration, dating from Concord and Lexington, virtually closed at the surrender of Cornwallis to the American and French forces October 19th, 1781. The treaty of peace was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, after England had expended 50,000 lives and 500,000,000 of dollars in the fruitless attempt to enforce on her colonies her Royal Governors, her stuffs and her teas. The new Confederacy for twelve years continued its efforts to establish a Nation under the Government of Committees of a Continental Congress. This experiment was a series of failures, and finally ended by the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788.

No fact in history is clearer than that the Confederacy was the sum of political inefficiencies, and that under it the Continental Congress came near losing the prize of Independence which had been bought at the price of so much blood and treasure.

Of its foreign relations Washington said, "We are one nation to-day and thirteen to-morrow; who will treat with us on these terms?"

As to its domestic quality, it is sufficient to cite the fact that Congress had issued 20,000,000 dollars in currency without the power to raise a dollar of it by taxation. To establish a Nation in place of a Confederacy became a necessity. This could only be accomplished by a compromise which permitted the engrafting of national rights upon the existing structure of state rights; so that the new Nation should be a composition of federal and national elements. This compromise was with difficulty effected, and like all compromises it had cost something to the parties concerned, and the sacrifices made and entailed were not all on one side.

The newly adopted Constitution found the slave trade an institution of the country, venerable in years,

existing since 1619, and by no means always confined to the South (Newport being at one time a famous port of entry for the cargoes in this human traffic) ; but a provision was inserted in the Constitution looking to its prohibition in or subsequent to 1808.

The existence of slavery, at one time general throughout the country, was recognized in the Constitution and was protected where it then existed.

The limits of this address do not permit me to trace out the interesting progress of the anti-slavery controversy, carried on in every intelligent home, on the hustings, in the forum, pulpit and press, from the Nullification and Missouri Compromise days of about 1830, until its culmination in John Brown's Raid in 1859, and in the election of Mr. Lincoln in October, 1860, by the electoral vote of every Northern State excepting New Jersey. Time suffices barely to refer to the sectional disruption of the Democratic party ; of the Republican party ; of the great National religious associations ; the secession from the Union of South Carolina, December 20, 1860, followed soon after by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas ; the formation of the Confederacy at Montgomery, February 8, 1861 ; the conspiracy in Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet to cripple the martial resources of the North and to build up those of the South ; the seizure of Forts, Government buildings and Navy Yards, excepting at Sumter and Pensacola ; the investment of Fort Sumter by the troops of South Carolina, and subsequently by those of the Confederacy ; the conspiracy to assassinate President Lincoln on his way to assume the Presidency ; the activity of the Confederate government in military preparations, in garrisoning the captured posts, and in forwarding 20,000 men to

Virginia; the efforts of both sides to conciliate the great Middle States; the inactivity of the new National Administration for thirty days while deciding the novel problem of how to enforce a voluntary union of Sovereign States, a complication which had been foreseen and thus characterized by Alexander Hamilton, "To coerce a State would be one of the maddest projects ever devised; no State would ever subject itself to be used as the instrument of coercing another;" the final decision to issue the order on the 4th day of April for the sailing of Captain Fox's expedition to re-victual Sumter; the bombardment, and, after a bloodless contest of thirty-six hours, the surrender, of Forts Sumter and Pickens on April 14th; the call for 75,000 troops on the 15th and the secession of Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina soon after, and the removal of the Confederate Capital from Montgomery to Richmond.

Thus the well-meant efforts of the Fathers to compromise forever out of sight all obstacles to a Union of the States, returned to plague their children, and to threaten destruction to that Union which had been tried and approved by an experience of three-quarters of a century.

Four generations of men essayed in vain to allay the spirit of disunion. Compromises were at an end.

Not only was Maryland a border State, but through her territory lay the only routes from the North and West to the National Capital. Consequently it was considered of prime importance that she should not be incensed by the new administration, for which she had not voted, although the State had recently elected a Governor, nominally, at least, in favor of sustaining the Union. Baltimore, the chief city of Maryland, beside

a large and controlling element among the rich and influential class, whose social and political predilections were with the South, also contained a turbulent class, then long notorious for deeds of violence and lawlessness, and these offered ample material for the purposes of the Secessionists.

These brief scraps of history, a quarter of a century and more old, will enable us now clearly to recall what the "Sixth" undertook to do when it marched out of Lowell, and what that march entailed upon soldiers obeying the orders of their Government.

The Sixth Regiment in April, 1861, was commanded by Colonel Edward F. Jones of Pepperell, who, May 17th, was promoted to the command of the Post at the Relay House, and who was subsequently Colonel of the 26th Regiment and subsequently brevetted Brigadier-General. The Lieutenant-Colonel was Walter S. Shattuck of Groton, who resigned because of age and infirmity before the march for Baltimore.

The Major was Benjamin F. Watson of Lawrence, who, on the 17th of May, was elected Lieutenant-Colonel by the commissioned officers of the regiment in camp at the Relay House, and was promoted, on that day, to the command of the regiment, which position he held until the time of its enlistment expired. He was subsequently brevetted Colonel and made a Paymaster in the Army. The vacancy caused by the promotion was filled by the election as Major of Captain Josiah A. Sawtelle of Lowell.

The Sixth Regiment, prior to 1861, was venerable in years. In its Baltimore Campaign it became historic; and because it did so become, Governor Andrew preserved its organization and number. Subsequently, during the war of the Rebellion, it volunteered for 100

days and again for nine months ; it is still one of the militia regiments of the State, and is in such a state of efficiency as to make it probable that in the future, as in the past, it will be ready for active duty in any exigency which may befall the State. I speak to-day for the Sixth Regiment of the Baltimore Campaign, represented by this Association, and known as the "Old Sixth" Regiment.

The "Sixth" of 1778 hailed from the same territory as that of 1861, including Concord and Lexington. Three new companies were attached to the eight constituting the regiment prior to its memorable march. The new companies were: The Worcester Light Infantry, formerly Company B, Third Battalion of Rifles, which was formed in 1803 by Governor Levi Lincoln ; Company K, the Washington Light Guard of Boston, formerly Company C of the First Regiment, which was organized in 1810 as the Washington Artillery ; Company L of Stoneham, formerly belonging to the Seventh Regiment. Among the most ancient of the old organizations was Company B, the old Groton Artillery, which was organized in 1775, Lieutenant Farnsworth having received his commission on October 19, 1778, from the Council of Massachusetts Bay, the name of the royal Governor Gage being conspicuous for its absence. The new companies made an addition of about one-third to the effective force of the regiment. The union of the new and old elements was cemented by the blood of their martyrs, and consecrated by the memories of mutual trials and triumphs, and is indissoluble forever.

The names of Andrew and Butler cannot be omitted from any true history of the "Old Sixth." In their respective spheres they were faithful and tireless. The

foremost War Governor ; the first volunteer General Officer ; wide apart in personal characteristics and the antipodes in politics, they early formed a united force in arraying the State against secession.

“THE SIXTH” WAS FIRST TO VOLUNTEER—FIRST IN THE FIELD—FIRST TO SHED ITS BLOOD—FIRST TO TRIUMPH.

Governor Andrew, who had been inaugurated on January 5, 1861, on the 16th issued his famous General Order No. 4, requiring the militia of the State to be forthwith put into a state of efficiency, to the end “that Massachusetts should be at all times ready to furnish her quota upon any requisition of the President of the United States, to aid in the maintenance of the laws and the peace of the Union.”

On the third day thereafter, the 19th of January, just three months before the affair in Baltimore, at a meeting at the American House in Lowell of the Field Officers and Commanders of Companies of the Regiment, Colonel Jones presiding, I had the honor of offering the following resolution, which had been suggested to me by General Butler (who had from a private successively risen through every grade in the “Sixth” Regiment to that of Colonel, and who was then a Brigadier-General of the State militia):

“RESOLVED: That Colonel Jones be authorized and requested forthwith to tender the services of the Sixth Regiment to the Commander-in-Chief and Legislature, when such services may become desirable, for the purposes contemplated in General Order No. 4.”

This resolution was unanimously adopted and by General Butler presented to the Governor and to the Senate, of which the General was a member. On the 23d of January the Legislature “RESOLVED: That the

Legislature of Massachusetts, now, as always, convinced of the inestimable value of the Union and the necessity of preserving its blessings to ourselves and our posterity, regard with unmingled satisfaction the recent firm and patriotic special message of the President of the United States, to amply and faithfully discharge his constitutional duty of enforcing the laws and integrity of the Union ; and we proffer to him through the Governor of the Commonwealth such aid in men and money as he may require to maintain the authority of the National Government." This resolution was, by the Governor, on the same day forwarded to the President. This act of volunteering, beyond controversy the earliest and most conspicuous, bore fruits in according to the "Sixth" the honor of being the first regiment called, and to General Butler the honor of receiving the first commission as a General Officer of Volunteers.

It is not a gracious office for the historian to distinguish among those who have labored and suffered alike, and all of whom in their motives and in their efforts are equally deserving of honor and commendation. But in view of recent criticisms, which perhaps are inseparable from political campaigning, you, my Comrades, would not tolerate silence as to the credit belonging to Colonel Jones in the inception of the movement upon Baltimore. It is not too much to say that while every officer and soldier quickly responded to his orders, it was his skill which had disciplined the Regiment, his impetuous zeal which without a moment's loss of time promulgated the order to assemble, his executive tact which, combined with an iron will, forced preparations for the march, and assumed, without consultation, to mould and direct all of the movements of that eventful march, even to their minutest detail. To

him this credit belongs and with it of course is coupled the responsibility. The merit of the military efficiency of the Regiment prior to the War, and the celerity of its movements when called, which must ever constitute in great part the glory of its record, are by his comrades freely accorded to him ; and this without claiming for him honors by the fortunes of war belonging to others and which he has never claimed.

The proclamation of President Lincoln calling for 75,000 men and convoking an extra session of Congress, was dated April 15, but did not reach Boston until the 16th and was not received at Albany until the 17th, receiving from the Governor of New York on the 19th the response by telegram to the President that the "Seventh" would start for Washington that evening. On the 15th of April Governor Andrew received a telegram from Senator Henry Wilson announcing the call for troops. The Governor at once issued his Special Order No. 14 commanding the Colonels of the Third, Fourth, Sixth and Eighth Regiments forthwith to muster their commands in uniform on Boston Common, and sent it by special messengers. Colonel Jones, who was in Boston, received his order first, took it to Brigadier-Gen'l Butler for regular transmission, and issued his orders the same day by telegraph to the "Sixth," to assemble at 7 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, at Huntington Hall in Lowell, uniformed and ready to proceed to Washington. The order reached me at Lawrence about four o'clock in the afternoon and found me professionally engaged in a law-suit. Within an hour's time I was in uniform and on my way across country to Lowell, reporting there ready for duty about six o'clock in the evening. At the request of the Colonel I at once drove back to Lawrence and person-

ally superintended the preparations for departure of the two Lawrence Companies, at eleven o'clock that night was summoned to address a public meeting assembled at the Lawrence City Hall, and again reported for duty before daylight on the 16th. Surgeon Norman Smith of Groton left his practice, and Chaplain Charles Babbidge of Pepperill left his ministerial charge, and the other members of the Staff responded with equal alacrity. The efficient and soldierly Adjutant, Alpha B. Farr, lived in Lowell, and was early and constantly at the Colonel's side. Company I, Captain Pickering of Lawrence, with 52 officers and men; Company F, Captain Chadbourne and subsequently Captain Beal, also of Lawrence, with 62; the Lowell troops, Company A, Captain Sawtelle, with 52; Company C, Captain Follansbee, with 56; Company D, Captain Hart, with 53; Company H, Captain Noyes, with 53; Company E, Captain Tuttle of Acton, with 52, notwithstanding the drive of 15 miles to Lowell, after assembling the men from several towns; Company B, Captain Clark of Groton, with 74, notwithstanding the drive of 16 miles to Lowell, after assembling the men from several towns; all reported at Lowell ready for duty as ordered, and with them also the Lowell Brigade Band of 16 pieces. Over 480 men had assembled within 17 hours from the time when the Colonel, 25 miles from the Regimental Head Quarters, received his marching orders. The record of the three additional Companies which united with the "Sixth" at Boston, shows equal promptitude. It was not until after 9 o'clock in the evening of the 16th that Governor Andrew decided to attach Companies L and K to the Regiment. Company K was drilling in its Armory when, after ten o'clock at night, the order was delivered

to join the "Sixth" at Boston the next morning at seven o'clock. The order was received with nine cheers and promptly the next morning Company K, Captain Sampson, reported with 62 officers and men ready for duty. The order reached Stoneham at 2 o'clock in the morning of the 17th. Captain Dike, awakened out of a sound sleep, to the summons to report at the State House with his command at 11 o'clock that morning replied: "Tell the Adjutant General I will obey the order and report in time." The bells in Stoneham rang out the people from their homes before the break of day, and Captain Dike with 67 officers and men reported at the State House before 11 o'clock. Late in the night of the 16th Captain Pratt of Company G received his orders to join the "Sixth" at Boston at noon on the 17th, and although the members of his command were scattered through Worcester and the adjoining towns, he so reported on time at Boston, forty miles from Worcester, with 100 officers and men ready for duty. The Regiment after receiving parting benedictions from the assembled people of Lowell, arrived in Boston at about noon of the 16th and was quartered first at Faneuil and afterwards at Boylston Hall, being the first Regiment to report in Boston.

You remember how one of our poets has sung of the midnight ride on April 18th, 1775, of one who was

" Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm
For the country folk to be up and to arm.
* * * * *
So through the night rode Paul Revere ;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm—
A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
A word that shall echo forevermore !"

The night of the 15th of April, 1861, witnessed the ride of many Paul Reveres through the cold storm of

sleet and rain and over roads heavy with snow and yielding frost, to rouse men to whom this message was startling and well nigh incredible. With unparalleled alacrity this regiment, scattered over four counties and through thirty towns and cities, assembled around the colors, not to repel invasion of their own firesides, but to march hundreds of miles away to the Nation's endangered Capital. This midnight summons was not in turbulent times and to professional soldiers, but to men of peaceful pursuits, nigh whose dwellings war had not come for nearly a century. Fifty years of profound peace, interrupted only by the Mexican War, to which New England contributed only a single regiment, had left them unaccustomed to the duties, the sacrifices and the dangers of war. God only knows what it cost these men to sunder family, social and business ties at a moment's notice, for the purpose of engaging in deadly conflict far from home with brothers of the same Union and flag, misguided, but brethren still. They were adventurous, but had no ambition to excel in strife. Their schemes of life required, for development, unremitting attention to the labors and daily duties in which they were involved. These were not mercenaries or conscripts, but independent farmers, mechanics, shoemakers, operatives in mills, merchants and their clerks, lawyers with their students, editors and printers, physicians engaged in ministering to the sick, and clergymen of godly counsels. When they marched beyond the region of their daily avocations they were sure to leave behind them homes desolated and business ruined, and yet, with an alacrity unequalled, they obeyed this night order, prompted by no possible inducement but devotion to the imperilled Union. It is true that one-half of the four millions of Northern men of military age,

in the four succeeding years, followed their footsteps and fought gloriously. Familiarity, however, accustoms the human mind to calmly contemplate any inevitable disaster. The "Sixth," it must be remembered, was suddenly awakened out of peaceful slumbers to face the grim visage of War, which none of them had ever beheld. If they had hesitated, if they blundered, what wonder? If they rushed to the front and triumphed, give them the glory.

Before sunset of the 16th the regiment was at Boston awaiting the order to march. So imminent seemed the danger to the authorities at Washington that the steamers, with steam up, in which, by way of the Potomac, it was designed we should reach Washington, were abandoned, and railroading was substituted, in obedience to the following telegram from the Secretary of War: "Send the troops by railroad; they will arrive quicker; the route through Baltimore is now open."

Inquisitiveness is supposed to be a Yankee trait, though one least becoming soldiers.

"Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."

One of the best evidences of your sudden but perfect transformation into soldiers is in the fact that none of the men who were to encounter the dangers of that "perilous journey" knew or inquired the cause of this change of programme. Upon this point I will venture here to introduce an extract from Adjutant-General Schouler's "Massachusetts in the Rebellion." It is as follows:

"The true history of Mr. Lincoln's perilous journey to Washington in 1861, and the way he escaped death, have never been made public until now. The narrative was written by Samuel M. Felton * * * President of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railroad Company. It has a direct bearing upon events which transpired in forwarding the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment to Washington." * * * "It came to my knowledge," said

Mr. Felton, "in the early part of 1861, first by rumors, and then by evidence which I could not doubt, that there was a deep-laid conspiracy to capture Washington, destroy all of the avenues leading to it from the North, East and West, and thus prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln in the Capital of the country; and if this plot did not succeed, then to murder him while on the way to the Capital, and thus inaugurate a revolution which should end in establishing a Southern Confederacy, uniting all of the slave States, while it was imagined that the North would be divided into separate cliques, each striving for the destruction of the other. * * * The sum of it all was, that there was then (early in 1861) an extensive and organized conspiracy throughout the South to seize upon Washington, with the archives and records, and then declare the Southern conspirators *de facto* the Government of the United States. The whole was to be a *coup d'état*. * * * In fact, troops were drilling upon the line of our road and the Washington and Annapolis line and on other lines; and they were sworn to obey the commands of their leaders, and the leaders were banded together to capture Washington."

On the 17th the "Sixth" was paraded in front of the State House, the officers were presented with pistols and the Regiment with its State colors, and it then took up its line of march through the thronged streets, the people waving farewells in most impressive silence. At sunset the train started. Throughout the night the scene was one of excitement as we traversed the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Bonfires, cheers and salutes greeted us everywhere. New York City was reached early in the morning of the 18th, but not until our military friends there had lost their patience and departed for their homes after a night's waiting. The Regiment proceeded down Broadway to the Cortlandt Street Ferry amid demonstrations of good will and sympathy. A gentleman who witnessed the scene wrote, "I was always proud of my native State; but never until now did I realize how grand she is. * * The enthusiasm was perfectly overwhelming. * * * Those who had witnessed all of the great demonstrations of the City for a half a century back, remember none so spontaneous and enthusiastic." Through New Jersey many demonstrations were made in honor of the "Sixth"; at Newark a salute was fired and another at Trenton by order of the Governor of

the State. At sunset of the 18th Philadelphia was reached, and amid the shouts of the people, the display of fireworks and the booming of cannon, the "Sixth" made its way to the Girard House through streets so thronged that a march by the flank became a necessity. A member of the Regiment wrote: "The reception at Philadelphia was a fitting climax to what had taken place elsewhere. So enthusiastic were our friends that they rushed into our ranks, threw their arms about the necks of our soldiers, and, emptying their own pockets for our benefit, seemed fairly beside themselves with joy." It was late in the evening before the tired soldiers had supped, and, wrapped in their blankets, had sought the rest to be found upon the Girard House floors, the house being without furniture. It was later still when the officers arose from the sumptuous feast spread for them at the Continental Hotel, at which prominent citizens of Philadelphia insisted upon serving in the place of the colored waiters. At about one o'clock on the morning of the 19th, Colonel Jones ordered the long roll to be beaten, and the Regiment silently took up the march through what seemed miles of deserted streets to the station of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Railroad. The contrast between the entrance into and the departure from Philadelphia was extreme. The delusion, fostered by recent experience, that military service was a grand picnic, an affair of martial music and applause, was at an end, and in place of enthusiastic crowds we saw empty streets, in which the occasional form of a night watchman afforded positive relief to the all-pervading loneliness. All excepting Colonel Jones marched in ignorance of the occasion for disturbing that rest of which all stood much in need. It subsequently appeared that Colonel

Jones had been in consultation with President Felton, who had heard rumors of the preparations to attack and turn back the "Sixth" on its reaching Baltimore; and then to organize in Baltimore an expedition to capture Washington. Colonel Jones at once determined to proceed on the march, as Baltimore would be more safely encountered early in the morning than later in the day. Whether the propriety of communicating by telegram with the military authorities in Washington, or of awaiting reinforcements, was or was not considered, does not appear; neither, so far as I am aware, has any explanation been given why the railroad authorities made up a train of such unwieldy bulk as to make it impossible for the "Sixth" to reach Baltimore until ten o'clock in the forenoon, instead of at five or six o'clock in the morning; neither does it appear whether it was through design or from inadvertence that the President of the road failed to inform Colonel Jones of the practice of drawing the cars by horses through Baltimore, as he must have been aware, if he reflected, that such a proceeding would separate the Colonel from his command in the face of an impending attack, and derange his plan of marching through the City.

The "Sixth" was carefully placed in the cars of the train in Philadelphia in order of each Company's place in line of battle, from right to left, as it had been for that purpose determined by the Colonel, the left Company K, or most of it, occupying the rear car. The Field and Staff officers occupied the first car. The railroad authorities sent a pilot engine ahead of the train as far as Perryville, but whether any similar precaution beyond there to Baltimore was taken does not appear. The distance from Philadelphia to Baltimore

is one hundred miles. At Perryville and Havre de Grace, about 35 miles from Baltimore, the railroad is crossed by the Susquehanna River, which there empties into Chesapeake Bay, and in those days the cars were run upon a ferry boat, conveyed across the river, and the train again made up on the other side. It appears that another train was attached to that containing the "Sixth," in which were about 1,000 or 1,200 unarmed and un-uniformed young men hailing from Philadelphia and calling themselves Small's Brigade. In crossing the Susquehanna the order of the cars was disarranged, and no one seems to have discovered that fact, which proved to be a very important one. Soon after leaving Philadelphia I sought Colonel Jones and informed him of my acquaintance with Baltimore, and that I had little doubt that the Regiment would be attacked. Owing to the pressing duties this novel experience had forced upon the Colonel, this was the only personal communication that passed between us from the start at Lowell until Washington was reached. Alluding, perhaps, to this interview, Colonel Jones, in his Official Report, dated at the Capital, April 22, 1861, says :

"After leaving Philadelphia, I received intimations that our passage through Baltimore would be resisted. * * I caused ammunition to be distributed and arms loaded; and went personally through the cars and issued the following order: 'The Regiment will march through Baltimore in columns of sections, arms at will. You will undoubtedly be insulted, abused and perhaps assaulted, to which you must pay no attention whatever; but march with your faces square to the front, and pay no attention to the mob, even if they throw stones, brickbats or other missiles; but if you are fired upon, and any one of you is hit, your officers will order you to fire.' "

The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad from the North, in 1861, entered the southeastern corner of Baltimore, and skirted along the shore of the North West Branch of the Patapsco River, which forms the harbor of that City, and this railroad terminated in its President Street Station in Baltimore.

In 1861, as has been intimated, it was the practice to attach horses to each car of the train for Washington and the South, and to draw it about one-fourth of a mile northerly through President Street to its junction with East and West Pratt Street; thence along West Pratt Street in a westerly direction about seven-eighths of a mile to South Howard Street; thence southerly about a quarter of a mile to the Camden Street Station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad where the train was re-united and moved by steam power in a northerly direction about one-quarter of a mile, thence in a westerly and southerly course past Mount Clair Station until the city limits are reached at the Carrolton Viaduct over Gwinn's Falls, a distance from Camden Street Station of about two miles and a quarter. In going south through Baltimore, about one-sixteenth of a mile after the abrupt turn from President Street to West Pratt Street, the bridge over the Canal which empties into the North West Branch is encountered. Pratt Street from there to South Howard Street is lined on its left side with docks, shipping and store-houses. On the right thirteen streets enter West Pratt Street, Concord Street and Union Dock being the first in order. Significant number and names these.

The inevitable confusion of facts to which all are liable, in attempting to arrive at an understanding of the events in Baltimore, and which have led to partial narratives, and in some quarters to controversies, will be avoided by following the plan of Hanson's History of the "Sixth" where he sub-divides the Affair under three heads, namely:—

"THE PASSAGE THROUGH"—in cars by Colonel Jones and his Staff, and Companies A, B, E, F, G and H, without serious impediment.

“THE ATTACK”—made on Company K, Captain Sampson, with whose fortunes my lot was cast.

“THE MARCH THROUGH”—by Company C, Captain Follansbee ; Company I, Captain Pickering ; Company L, Captain Dike, and Company D, Captain Hart.

These three detachments were accidentally separated, and operated independently of each other, and the experience of each was distinct, and beyond the observation of the others.

It was my intention to narrate the events in Baltimore by quoting the Official Report of Colonel Jones, already alluded to ; the written statement of Captain Sampson, which I have, and extracts from Hanson's history and Schouler's history, as to the experience of Company K, and myself ; the statement of Captain Follansbee written in 1861, and another statement of his written in April, 1885, the statement of Lieutenant Jepson written in 1886, and extracts from Hanson, as to the experience of the detachment of four Companies under the command of Captain Follansbee ; and the statement of A. S. Young of the Band, as to their experience and the experience of the drummers and fifers of each Company, and as to the experience of Colonel Small's unarmed Brigade. But the limits of this address render impracticable, not only the plan, but also any notice of the Campaign subsequent to the fight in Baltimore. My narrative, however, reproduces in substance each of the statements enumerated.

Our train reached Baltimore about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 19th, and as it slowly passed through that region of the city called “Canton,” it was plain that some great excitement stirred the people, for through the cross streets men could be seen, as we passed, running and gesticulating toward the train.

A few minutes before the train arrived at the President Street Station Adjutant Farr informed me that, by the Colonel's order I was to repair, upon the stopping of the train, to the left Company, Captain Sampson, and to remain in the car with that Company until ordered to file out into place in column, and to see the rear of the Battalion through the city; that the Regiment would march through in column of sections, and that no firing should be allowed, whatever opposition or insults should be offered, unless some of our number were actually shot. In obedience to this order I immediately left the front car, and passed along the street toward the rear of the train, said to have contained thirty cars. While thus proceeding, much threatening and insulting language was addressed to me by Policemen and others of the constantly increasing and excited crowd. I was assured in language neither gentle nor polite, that not a soldier would live to pass through the city; that Baltimore would, to a man, repel the invasion of Maryland by "Northern Abolitionists." In response they were informed that our intentions were peaceable; that, as soldiers, we were under orders to defend Washington, and that if we were opposed, they would learn that we were armed and disciplined and not cowards. After passing several cars, through the car windows I recognized the uniform of Company K, and entered that car and informed Captain Sampson of my orders, and we stood discussing the serious aspect of the situation, with backs to the front door of the car, awaiting orders. Neither had a suspicion that Company K was not in line where it belonged. We waited seemingly a long time for the promised order to file out and take place in the Column, but no order and no notice of change of orders came. On turning

to look out it was discovered that all of the cars preceding ours had disappeared, and with them the Regiment. At the same moment horses were attached to our car and it was drawn away along President street. At the turn upon Pratt street the car was thrown from the track by an anchor and other obstructions which had been placed on the rails. After a hurried consultation with Captain Sampson I left the car and with the aid of a passing team which was impressed into the service, succeeded in replacing the car upon the track, amid the jeers and violent threats and demonstrations of the dense crowd. Nothing could then be seen of the other cars or the Regiment in Pratt street in front, or in President street in the rear, and information as to what had become of our comrades was sought in vain from the crowd, which by this time was as dense to the rear as in front, and it seemed to me no more dangerous to move forward with this handful of troops (62 all told) than to attempt to return to the station. The driver was ordered to proceed. The starting of the car was the signal for volleys of stones and other missiles and occasional shots. Up to this time firearms, though plentifully displayed, had not been used. While Captain Sampson and his officers were employed in giving directions to their men how to avoid, as far as possible, injury from the paving stones, pieces of iron and other heavy missiles which were fast carrying away glass, sash and sides of the car, it became my duty to take my position in the front door to control the driver, whose place was a dangerous one, and whose loyalty was not above suspicion. The car moved slowly through the crowd, which was excited to a degree beyond description. Repeated requests were made to me by soldiers injured by the missiles of the mob for

leave to fire, but they were reminded of my orders, and promised that the permission should come if any wounds from fire-arms were received. Presently my attention was called to a soldier in the middle of the car who triumphantly held up his hand, from which the thumb had been shot away. I then gave them the order to fire at will, and to shelter themselves as far as possible while loading. The order was received with demonstrations of satisfaction by officers and men, who up to that time had submitted, but not without murmurs, to this one-sided affair. The firing then became general and deliberate from the car. While this order was being given the car was again stopped near large piles of paving stones, and, when discovered, the driver and horses were making off through the crowd. Captain Sampson advised that the car be abandoned, as the position was one of extreme danger. It seemed to me, however, that the car would afford some protection to the men, and I directed that no one should be permitted to leave the car until my return. Captain Sampson ordered Lieutenant Emery to guard the rear door, while he himself took position at the front door, and I started in pursuit of the driver, who was still in sight but several rods away, and surrounded by the crowd. Overtaking him, I ordered him to return to the car with his team; hastily weighing the relative danger to be apprehended from the weapons of the crowd and from my leveled revolver, he decided to surrender to the latter, preceded me with his horses through the mob, the horses were reattached, and the car again moved on amid renewed volleys, the driver still requiring constant and armed attendance. While I was pursuing the driver Captain Sampson witnessed the proceeding from the

front platform of the car. Standing there with one of his soldiers by his side, he observed a leader of the mob haranguing them at a point between the car and the place reached by the driver before he was overtaken. When he had finished his harangue he turned towards Captain Sampson and pointed him out. The Captain, suspecting his purpose, ordered his soldier to shoot him should he make any demonstration. When the man drew and aimed his pistol his purpose was frustrated by a bullet from the soldier's rifle. That and other shots from the car scattered that portion of the crowd, and probably facilitated my return with the driver and horses. The fight was severer here than at any other point of the attack upon this detachment. The car became almost a complete wreck, and we could proceed but slowly owing to the crowd. Seeing that they could not induce us to abandon the car, the mob, shortly before South Howard street was reached, tore up the track. Orders were then given to file out, and we marched to the Camden street station, over the short distance remaining, through the dense crowd. The exposure of the men by attempting to march all of the way, through the lively shower of bullets and missiles which prevailed along the whole distance on Pratt street, must inevitably have resulted in great loss. The officers and men of Company K could not have behaved with more coolness had they been veterans. Several of Company K were injured, but only four of the 62 received gun-shot wounds. The names of these four were reported and have always formed a part of the list of the Regiment's wounded.

THIS DETACHMENT UNQUESTIONABLY SHED, AND DREW FROM THEIR OPPONENTS, THE FIRST BLOOD OF THE WAR.

On arriving at the Camden street station Company K was reunited with the main body of the Regiment, and the first intelligence was then obtained of its experience. The unknown fate of the Regiment had caused us more anxiety than our own dangerous position. On our arrival Colonel Jones ordered us into the cars, where his command was awaiting orders. It was now between 11 and 12 o'clock.

From some of the Staff officers it was then first learned that Colonel Jones was unacquainted with the practice of drawing the cars across the city, and that his order to march across had been frustrated by his having been rapidly drawn through the city, and it was also learned that four companies and the Band were still missing. It was also then ascertained that the first car, containing Colonel Jones and his Staff, and the other seven or eight cars, containing the six companies in the Colonel's detachment (for Company G must have filled two cars, and Company B, also, probably), had met with no resistance and only with an occasional missile thrown at the last of these cars.

Some details have been indulged in in describing the experience of Captain Sampson's Company, because, perhaps owing to my neglect to report, or otherwise to publish it, no allusion was made to it in Colonel Jones's Official Report, and it is often omitted entirely from the account of that day's proceedings, as it ought not to be, for that single Company of men are entitled to the credit of forcing their way through obstacles before which they, raw recruits, might well have quailed. The success attending the efforts to get Captain Sampson's car through, doubtless inspired the mob to tear up the bridge on Pratt street, so that no other car could pass. After Company K had started from the

President street station, in probably the tenth car (there is confusion in all of the accounts as to the numbering of the cars), there were still left behind, awaiting orders or transportation, four companies which had lost their order in line by the handling of the cars at the crossing of the Susquehanna, and also the Regimental Band, which at Philadelphia had been placed in the extreme rear car. These companies were, as before stated, C, Captain Follansbee; I, Captain Pickering; L, Captain Dike; and D, Captain Hart; officers and men all told numbering 220, and said to have carried 196 guns. Lieutenant Lynde, of Company L, had been ordered to escort the Band across the city, but being unarmed they refused to encounter the danger. After waiting 15 minutes or more from the departure of Company K, Captain Follansbee was informed by some citizens, or railroad officials, that the track had been torn up and that no other cars could go through the City, and they advised him to march through. This he communicated to the other three Captains, and they ordered their commands to leave the cars and form on the sidewalk. This they did amidst the jeers, violent threats and annoying demonstrations of the crowd surrounding them on President street. A consultation was held among the four Captains, and, according to the wishes of the others, Captain Follansbee assumed command of the detachment. He then placed Company C on the right, I, next, L, next, and D on the left, and wheeled into column by sections. This evident determination to force a passage through the city increased the anger of the crowd, and the soldiers were not only saluted with vile epithets, called "White niggers" and "Nigger thieves," and assured that their graves were already

dug, and that not a man of them would live to march into Camden street station, but the occasional throwing of bricks, stones and other missiles was indulged in. Captain Follansbee placed himself at the head of the column, and not knowing the way, asked a policeman to lead them to the other station. Some accounts say this request was complied with, others say that the policeman paid no heed to the request, and when one of their number quietly told Captain Follansbee to follow the railroad track he was instantly felled to the earth with a stone. Before the order to march was given, a Confederate or Palmetto flag, attached to a pole, was brought to the front and defended by about a dozen of the mob, who led the cheers for "Jeff Davis and South Carolina." When the order was finally given, and the march of the detachment along President street toward Pratt street was commenced, the whole column was saluted with yells, curses, missiles and gun and pistol shots. The Palmetto flag was borne at the head of the column, which so exasperated the soldiers that a number of them assailed its defenders, and in the struggle the flag was thrown upon the pavement and marched over until it was rescued by its defenders, just as the rear of the column was passing it; whereupon Lieutenant Lynde with the hilt of his sword knocked its possessor to the ground, and buttoning the flag beneath his coat continued his march. As the detachment reached Pratt street, and turned to the left on West Pratt street, it was seen that many of the planks of the bridge across the Canal, over which the march lay, had been removed, and barricades thereon had been hastily erected with boxes, barrels and planks, and the leaders of the mob were distinctly heard ordering that the use of firearms should be reserved until the

bridge was reached and an attempt to pass it was made. The bridge was successfully passed by the whole detachment, by jumping from plank to plank, by running on the string-pieces, and by leveling and removing such of the obstructions as could not be easily scaled. For some reason there was a lull in the assault while the bridge was being crossed. It was then discovered that a battery was nearly in readiness, and it is believed that five minutes later it would have swept the approach to the bridge so successfully as to have prevented its passage and resulted in great loss to the soldiers. Possibly the knowledge of the existence of the battery deferred the assault with small arms during the crossing of the canal. The crowd was infuriated at this partial escape from their toils, and began a more determined use of firearms. Captain Follansbee asked Lieutenant Jepson, of Co. C, what he thought should next be done, and the Lieutenant advised taking the "double quick" step, whereupon Captain Follansbee gave the order, and the column commenced the rapid movement. This, through the impression that the troops had no ammunition or dared not open fire, so emboldened the crowd that their assault became more deadly, and hand-to-hand fighting became frequent during the remainder of the march. Many notable acts of bravery might be recited did time permit.

It appears that up to this time Captain Follansbee had not given the order to fire, but seeing men in an upper window shooting at the soldiers, and that their fire was effective, he gave the order to fire at will. This order was obeyed at once by about half of the men, and when the smoke cleared away a great many of the crowd were seen lying on the pavement dead or wounded. From this time the firing by the soldiers

was general and promiscuous, they dragging their guns between their legs while loading. Lieutenant Jepson directed the attention of his men to assailants in a high window or hoistway, and one or more of them came tumbling to the pavement in response to the deadly aim of the soldiers. The rapidity of the movement separated somewhat the rear of the column from the front, and Lieutenant Lynde, not being able to see Captain Follansbee or hear his commands, gave orders to his men directing their fire in an effective manner. At times when the fire became more general from the detachment, the mob would for a few moments give way, but would soon, with great persistency, return to the assault, specially directing their attention to the flanks and rear of the column. Pratt Street and the cross streets seemed to be filled with twenty thousand people, more or less, all vying with each other in efforts to injure and destroy the soldiers, and keeping up continuous cries and yells. Every place of advantage for their marksmen seemed to be occupied; and, from the windows above, furniture and household utensils were hurled into the street by those who had exhausted their ammunition, or had not the command of firearms.

Lieutenant Jepson says: "The first man I saw killed in the war was about ten minutes after starting. He had been struck by a rock; he lay in the middle of the road, and was trampled upon by the crowd. I thought then it was one of the most horrible sights I ever saw, and I am not sure now that it was not." * * * "It has always been a wonder to me that we were not annihilated there." * * * "I have been in many a battle, but I had rather, any time, face the enemy in the open field than go through such a scene as that was in the streets of Baltimore. It is worth something to know that your enemy is in front of you, and not above, behind and on every side."

Soon after the march commenced, the Mayor, introduced to Captain Follansbee by a policeman, asked permission to march by the Captain's side. After marching a few rods, admitting that he could not

control the crowd, he left, saying it was too hot a place for him.

The colors of the Regiment were with Company L. They were, all through the march, proudly borne aloft by Sergeant Timothy A. Crowley, of Lowell, who, with his gallant aids, Marland and Stickney, marched as though on parade, and showed no sign of faltering when the fight was thickest. They seemed to have no thought but the duty to protect the ensign around which all were to rally and die rather than betray the trust implied when it was committed to the "Sixth" by the beloved Commonwealth. No better example, although there were many others, can be cited of the fact that patriotism and gallantry in the late war were by no means confined to the native-born than this intrepid soldier, Crowley, who was one of a family of six brothers early to enlist and bravely to serve in the Union ranks, they being the sons of foreign parents. The wounded men were helped along by their comrades, excepting in case of entire disability, when they were necessarily left behind with the killed. Captain Dike was so badly wounded that he was left as fatally hurt. He, however, had strength and determination enough to enable him to hobble to the sidewalk, where he found himself at the door of a public house, which he entered, and was by the friendly landlord concealed, just in time to escape death from the hands of the pursuing crowd, who were deceived into the belief that he had escaped from the house. He was long protected and cared for under this hospitable roof, and reported killed. He never quite recovered from the injury, although he lived some years thereafter. Finally this detachment, with the loss of 4 killed and 32 wounded by gunshot, arrived at the Camden Street station, and

forced its way through the howling and frantic crowd, which filled it in every part. It was about noon. Never did the "Sixth" experience more relief than when this brave and determined band joined their comrades. Colonel Jones received them, and at once ordered them into the cars. Such was the fury of the mob that the scenes in that station are almost indescribable. The troops were exasperated, and, now that they were reunited and under their proper officers, would gladly have responded to an order to march out in search of their still missing comrades, and leave the Regimental mark on that murderous crowd. Shots were fired from the cars in several instances; one of them was known to have killed a prominent merchant, alleged by the citizens to have been unoffending, but claimed by the soldiers to have been engaged in the assault. Few, if any, shots entered the cars, although firearms were freely pointed at and into the car windows. One man aimed his pistol through the windows into the very faces of the Chaplain and Surgeon, who coolly contemplated it for a moment, when the latter, uttering a short but expressive remark—probably a professional term—said, as he drew and leveled his own revolver at the assailant, "Two can play at that game." That particular aggressor did not again molest any member of that staff.

A general assault from the mob in the station was believed to be imminent; and the Regiment was prepared for it, by Colonel Jones's order, in case of an attack, that each Company should file out on either side of its car, and, with backs to the car, resist the assault. At last, yielding reluctantly to the importunities of the railroad authorities, who were in mortal terror of the possible consequences of any concerted

movement on the part of the Regiment or of the mob, Colonel Jones, between one and two o'clock, gave the order for the train to start, although it involved leaving behind about 130 missing, including the Band and the Field Music, concerning whose fate no tidings were then to be had, although subsequently all were accounted for. The crowd preceded and followed the train until the city limits were reached and passed, tearing up the rails and obstructing the progress with fences and telegraph poles, which were removed by workmen of the road and policemen, who accompanied the train for several miles, the latter finally taking their leave with as much satisfaction as ever entertainers felt at parting with guests. Without further incident, we proceeded by rail forty miles to Washington, where we arrived at about six o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th, and were received at the station by Major McDowell—afterwards Major-General McDowell—then of General Scott's Staff, who conducted us to our quarters in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol. It was ascertained that about half of the ammunition issued to the men who had been engaged in actual conflict had been expended. It is probable that ten rounds of ammunition to a man were distributed just before Baltimore was reached, although some claim that there were twenty rounds. After the Band had declined to accept Lieutenant Lynde's escort, they remained in their car, and despatched one of their number to consult Colonel Small as to the best thing to do. The messenger seems to have found no relief from Colonel Small, as his men were scattering and being chased in all directions by the crowd. The messenger of the Band was followed back to his car, and the mob assaulted it. The inmates being without

arms, taking to flight, were pursued and beaten, receiving no help from the police, but, on the contrary, taunts and insults. Substantially every man attached to the "Sixth" who was unarmed, and the whole of Colonel Small's Brigade, were subsequently sent back to the North, with four hundred policemen to protect them so long as they were within the limits of the City of Baltimore.

If, as is estimated after a careful consideration, over 1,500 rounds of ammunition were expended by the 300 soldiers under fire, in both of the assaulted detachments, it is probable that the damage was great, as the mark was a large one, and was presented on every hand. Chaplain Hanson, in his history of the "Sixth," in speaking of the Baltimore Affair, says: "Loyal men in Baltimore who were careful to collect all of the facts, are of the opinion that about one hundred of the mob were killed by the guns of our soldiers." If the estimate of one hundred killed is correct, and if the killed and wounded among the citizens bear the same proportion as they do among the soldiers, there must have been over nine hundred wounded. Most of the firing upon Captain Follansbee's detachment seems to have been upon the flanks and rear of the column; for, while Company C, at the head of the column, miraculously escaped with only one man wounded, Company I, the next to C, had four wounded and one killed; Company L, the next to I, had sixteen wounded, including its Captain and Lieutenants Leander F. Lynde and James F. Rowe; Company D, on the left of the detachment, had eleven wounded and three killed. Company K was probably not under fire an hour, and the other four marching companies probably not so long as an hour and a half, during which time

about fourteen per cent. of the soldiers exposed were shot.

Marshal Kane, Chief of Police of Baltimore, telegraphed Bradley F. Johnson, at Frederick City, as follows :

“Streets red with Maryland blood—send express over the mountains of Maryland and Virginia for the riflemen to come without delay. Fresh hordes will be down upon us to-morrow. We will fight them, and whip them or die.”

In the battle of Lexington, the Americans had 8 killed and 9 wounded by the deliberate fire of six companies of the flower of the British army, commanded by Major Pitcairn. In return, no account makes the British loss more than 1 killed; and to this day it remains a disputed question whether the Americans under Captain Parker succeeded in doing any execution upon the foe who had approached them openly and deliberately.

In the battle of Concord, and during a retreat of over fifteen miles, the whole expedition occupying the entire day from dawn until sunset (the British troops during most of that time consisting of eight companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, with whom was Major Pitcairn, and a brigade of a thousand men under Lord Percy, who, to reinforce Colonel Smith, had insultingly marched out of Boston to the tune of Yankee Doodle), the British had 68 killed, 178 wounded and 26 missing. The American loss, not including that at Lexington, was 85 killed and wounded.

In this comparison between the men of '75 and their sons of '61, it should not be lost sight of that the sires were pioneers accustomed to the presence of danger and the handling of arms, and that, not only had the military spirit been fostered and kept alive by frequent conflicts with the Indians, but the Colonists had seen active service many times during the hundred years preceding the Revolution.

The brief story of the youthful martyrs of Baltimore has been often rehearsed. Charles A. Taylor was a stranger who enlisted on the morning of the departure of the Regiment from Boston, and was about twenty-five years of age. No tidings of his history or relatives have ever been received.

Addison Otis Whitney was twenty-four years of age, and in the full vigor and promise of youth. Sumner Henry Needham was twenty-four years old, and thus early in life had, by his industry and fidelity, established a happy home, to which his loss was irreparable. On that fatal morning he said to a comrade: "We shall have trouble to-day, and I shall never get out of it alive. Promise me, if I fall, that my body shall be sent home." The body of Taylor, not being uniformed, was supposed not to be that of a soldier, and was buried in Baltimore. The body of Needham was buried with distinguished honor by the City of Lawrence, which afterwards erected a suitable monument to his memory. The bodies of Whitney and Luther Crawford Ladd, after lying in state in this Huntington Hall, were buried here, with fitting honors, beneath a noble monument, reared by the City of Lowell and the Commonwealth.

Ladd was a youth of only seventeen years. As he fell, a comrade heard him exclaim, "All hail to the Stars and Stripes."

Comrades, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, standing here "in the peace of the Commonwealth," let us, from our heart of hearts, with reverence, re-echo the dying boy's parting salute—"All hail to the Stars and Stripes."

Governor Andrew's telegram to Mayor Brown of Baltimore, like all of the utterances of that noble patriot, touched the popular heart:

"To his Honor the Mayor : I pray you to cause the bodies of our Massachusetts soldiers, dead in Baltimore, to be immediately laid out, preserved with care, and tenderly sent forward by express to me. All expenses will be paid by this Commonwealth."

JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts."

Alluding to the Governor's despatch, the New York Times eloquently said :

"Few men can read it without tears ; those bodies, battered and bruised by the brutal mob, are sacred. 'Tenderly' is not too gentle a word to be used for the care of them. Yes, bear their bodies 'tenderly ;' they are more sacred than the relics of saints. Wherever they pass, let the Nation's flag, which they died to defend, wave over them ; let cannon thunder the martial honor, and let women and children come to drop a tear over the Massachusetts dead, who died for country and liberty."

Who, looking back over the intervening years, can contemplate, without emotion, without advantage to his patriotism, the Rally, March and Conflict of the "Sixth?" If to resolve to set the example in some great emergency in the affairs of mankind ; if to devote all you are or hope to be as a sacrifice to the interests of society at large, which seem to tremble on the verge of disaster ; if to cast all of goods, affections and life itself into the defense of a sentiment which elevates the race and ennobles existence,—is not heroism, what is it?

Is there no distinction between giving and getting—between self-gratification and self-sacrifice? The Divine Image and Superscription is stamped on deeds of unselfish devotion. Heroic deeds, called out and multiplied by great national emergencies, constitute heroic periods or times. He who sets the fashion in such times is magnified by the results, and by their greatness he is exalted, for they germinated in the purposes of his soul. Heroism can no more be measured by rule, or comprehended by enumeration, than the depth of a principle can be sounded, or the power of a passion gauged. It is heroic, single-handed, to hold the pass for an hour that an army may be

aroused, arrayed and saved; or to tread a dark and untried path that leads through peril and death, that communities may be warned of approaching danger, and aroused to deeds of valor; or for a handful of militia to penetrate a hostile country to rescue a menaced and defenceless Capital. Test heroism always by motives, and its magnitude by consequences, not by means.

In 1861 all appreciated full well that questions of vital importance to Americans, if not to men everywhere, were awaiting solution, and the dread of disaster was suspended like a pall over our institutions; all men hoped the issue would not be one of arms; most men believed it would not be; few indeed had accepted the contrary conclusion, and fewer still had so prepared for such an emergency as not to be surprised at its appearance. No one considered it in any degree a problem affecting material interests; whatever the result, labor was still to receive its wages, and capital its usury; it was generally and justly estimated as being a question of sentiment, of principle if you please, but that sentiment proved to be patriotism, and that principle the love of freedom for freedom's sake. Everyone knew that necessarily the questions were not of personal concern; in other words, every man could decide for himself whether to meddle in the matter or absorb himself in his own affairs; whether to serve country or self. Every man could count the loss sure to follow desertion of home and business, and no one could foresee the result so far as to estimate any advantages of going that could possibly compensate for the certain disadvantage and probable dangers. You were suddenly called, but need not have gone, or might have dallied until your neighbor's course had been ascertained, yet

you responded without hesitation. It was hard parting, but easy enough to accept ovations, so long as your progress was cheered by them; they ceased, and the obstacle of a hostile city of two hundred thousand inhabitants appeared, to stop your farther progress. You were but a handful, and as thinking men you knew then as well as you do now, that to persist was dangerous. Millions of people whose lives were not more precious to them than yours to you, had equal interest in defending the country's Capital. As Massachusetts soldiers you were beyond the jurisdiction of its Laws, or its Officials. You were not yet sworn in to the United States service. You had been introduced into a dangerous city by Authorities who ought to have known the conspiracies openly organizing there, and who had made absolutely no preparations for your safety or protection, and had even concealed from you any anticipated danger; accident left you without orders, or with contradictory orders, and separated leaders from men; nothing prevented your returning or waiting; nothing but sentiment, and that sentiment was patriotism, it could be none other.

You, the pioneers in the conflict! A band of 62 men! Never questioned that whatever the disparity of numbers, or the certainty of danger, the march must proceed.

You, who followed! The fragment of a Battalion, paraded in a hostile street, and in the presence of a dangerous foe, chose your new Commander, rectified your alignment, received your Colors with the honors, and bestowed them in position properly guarded, proudly unfurled them to the breeze, wheeled into column facing the hostile South, and ordered the march towards known dangers, and an uncertain fate.

History will do justice to the character and quality of your achievements.

What was this Affair judged by its results? In *itself* it was a triumph; superior numbers were met, and overcome by force, but not until after insult was borne, injury was unrepelled, patience was exhausted, and *blood* was to be atoned for; the Nation's highway to its Capital, blocked by Rebellion, was opened, and that Capital was rescued.

These were only minor results. Your example was contagious; armed men sprang up from every acre of ground in the North and West ready to sweep Baltimore into the sea for her assault and her presumption; Baltimore bowed in submission, and was saved; your blood shed in her streets transformed a million of peace-loving men, who had bewailed war, into soldiers, clamoring to be led against Rebellion and Slavery; your unquestioning devotion and swift response taught cautious capital that your patriotism was but the type to be followed by as many millions of Volunteers as the government required, and capital offered its treasure; the Flag triumphed, and to-day, as of old, its unalterable Stripes and its increasing Stars symbolize the patriotism of a United People.

Comrades, those who come after you will institute no inquiry as to what rank you bore; with what particular detachment your fortunes were cast on that eventful day; with what special opportunities the fortunes of war favored others or you, for the glory of that campaign sheds its lustre over and upon all of you alike. The offering was the offering of all; the sacrifices were made by all; you all swiftly assembled, obediently marched, and faithfully served. If it was yours to resist force by force, you resisted; if yours to

be insulted and menaced in silence for your country's good, you bravely submitted to the sterner trial; and the fame of the deeds of the "Old Sixth" shall as a grateful blessing be transmitted to your children's children, a rich inheritance undivided and indivisible.

Your own eloquent Choate, in defining the characteristics of an Heroic Period, said:

"I mean by a heroic age and race * * one the course of whose history and the traits of whose character, and the extent and permanence of whose influences, are of a kind and power, not merely to be recognized in after time as respectable or useful, but of a kind and of a power to kindle and feed the moral imagination, move the capacious heart, and justify the intelligent wonder of the World. I mean by a Nation's heroic age, a time distinguished above others, not by chronological relation alone, but by a concurrence of grand and impressive agencies with large results, by some splendid and remarkable triumph of men over some great enemy, some great evil, some great labor, some great danger, by uncommon examples of the rarer virtues and qualities, tried by an exigency that occurs only at the beginning of new epochs, the accession of new dynasties of dominion or liberty when the great bell of time sounds out another hour."

ADDENDA.

On August 2d, 1861, the "Sixth" was dismissed by the following order from the Executive :

"The Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, Colonel Jones, has returned home. It was the first which went forward to the defense of the National Capital. It passed through Baltimore, despite the cowardly assault made upon it, and was the first to reach Washington. Its gallant conduct has reflected new lustre upon the Commonwealth, and has given new historic interest to the 19th of April. It has returned, after more than three months of active and responsible service. It will be received by our people with warm hearts and generous hands. The Regiment is now dismissed until further orders."

VOTE OF THANKS FROM CONGRESS.

"Thirty-seventh Congress of the United States, at First Session, in the House of Representatives, July 22, 1861.

Resolved. That the thanks of this House are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, for the alacrity with which they responded to the call of the President, and the patriotism and bravery which they displayed on the 19th April last, in fighting their way through the City of Baltimore, on their march to the defense of the Federal Capital.

GALUSHA A. GROW,
Speaker of the House
of Representatives.

Attest—EM. ETHEREDGE,
Clerk."

In response to the following letter from Lieutenant-Governor Jones, the accompanying statement is cheerfully inserted :

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
LIEUT. GOVERNOR'S ROOM, }
ALBANY, April 20, 1886. }

COL. B. F. WATSON.

My dear Colonel :

The oration was a good one, and I was not disappointed, for I knew that your interest therein would command your best efforts. It is the only history of the Regiment, and as such it will be received, and therefore, should have added some things of which you were not cognizant, which justice to the Regiment demands should be a part thereof. If you will hold the printing, I will endeavor to give you these points which, as it is your oration, you, of course, will use or not, as you deem best.

Respectfully,

EDW. JONES.

"The Regiment was met at Philadelphia by General P. L. Davis, whom Governor Andrew had sent in advance to arrange transportation, etc. He informed me that our passage through Baltimore would be opposed, and he also said, I shall not take the responsibility to advise you what to do. My reply was, 'my orders are to go to Washington, and I propose to go;' he replied, 'if you go, I will go with you.'

"As soon as the Regiment were bivouacked in the Girard House, we took a carriage and went to see S. M. Felton, President of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railroad to arrange for transportation. President Felton said that very likely our trains would be obstructed, possibly bridges burned, etc., and asked whether it was my intention to go on.

"I told him that my orders were imperative; that we must go on at the earliest possible moment: that I had no hesitation in taking the risks, but I did not wish to take the chances of my men being slaughtered in a railroad accident, but asked him to send a pilot engine in advance of the train.

"I was aware of the usual custom of drawing the cars through the city with horses, and so expected to go until I was met at Havre de Grace by an agent of the railroad, who informed me that they could not draw us across the city. It was then that I ordered Quartermaster Monroe to distribute ammunition, and went through the cars and issued the order to which you adverted in your oration. On arrival at Baltimore, I stepped off the first car in which I was and gave orders to file out, but was scarcely on ground before horses were hitched on, and away went the car; and so with the second; I could get no information, and seeing that without consultation with me the plan had been changed, I jumped on to the third car. I afterwards learned that as the train had arrived earlier than was expected, the railroad authorities thought they could run us across before the people found out we were there.

"The following quotation from my address at the Re-union of the old Sixth, in 1883, will answer an oft-made inquiry, as to why we did not punish the rioters then and there:

"So far as any criticism may apply to my personal responsibilities, they are only of individual importance and will never be answered by me. But any imputations or insinuations against the courage or discipline of the old Sixth Massachusetts Regiment I repel with the scorn they merit. The most important and momentous epoch in my life-time was when, after the attack in Baltimore, officers and men gathered around me and begged that they might, then and there, avenge the death of their comrades. At that moment, when every influence of manhood impelled me to lead where all would follow, the line was sharply drawn between desire and duty by a telegram from General Scott saying 'Let nothing delay you.' By my side stood William Prescott Smith of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who appealed 'for God's sake, Colonel, give the orders to move, or it will be too late; the track is now being torn up.'

"The surging crowd of thousands of maniacs, as far as the eye could reach, and so dense that their very bodies blocked the wheels of our cars, yelled defiance.

"Every impulse bade me accept the challenge, but I remembered that obedience to orders was a soldier's first duty.'

"Such was the anxiety at Washington, that on our arrival we were met by the President and Cabinet. President Lincoln grasped my hand, and, with tears in his eyes, said, 'Thank God you are here. If you had not come, we should be in the hands of the rebels before morning. Your brave boys have saved the Capital. God bless them.' "

(From Boston Herald of April 19th, 1886.)

CAPT. SAMPSON'S STATEMENT.

Capt. Walter S. Sampson of Company C, 1st Regiment (the Washington Light Guard), which was attached to the 6th Regiment as Company K on April 16, 1861, makes the following statement of the passage of his command through the city of Baltimore on April 19, 1861. It is a portion of that famous encounter which has always been lightly treated, although it bears an important part in history.

In 1861 I commanded, as captain, the Washington Light Guard of Boston, then Company C of the 1st Regiment. After 10 o'clock on the night of the 16th of April, I was notified by Adj. Gen. Schouler that my company had been attached to the 6th regiment and that I was to report ready for duty the next day, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, to go to Washington. When the order was given, I was drilling my company in its armory. They gave nine cheers when they were informed of the order. The next day at 11 o'clock I reported with 62 officers and men, and became known as Company K of the 6th. When we left Philadelphia for Baltimore, at about 1 o'clock in the morning of April 19th, my company was in its order placed on the train as the left company. During the passage, and before we reached Baltimore, 10 rounds of ammunition to a man were distributed to my company, and information was given that rough treatment might be expected when we arrived at Baltimore, and that the regiment would march through, and that no firing was to be done by the regiment unless some of its soldiers were wounded with firearms, and that in such case the officers would give the order to return the fire. I was also notified that when my company was to file out and take place in column, I should be further notified. The train we were in arrived at the President street depot at about 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 19th, before which, as we were passing slowly through the city, the people exhibited considerable excitement. I carefully instructed my company as to their duties under the orders received, adding what I thought useful in the way of instructions in case we were involved in any engagement. Very shortly after the train arrived at the President street depot Maj. Watson entered the front of my car, and while standing near the front door, informed me that he had been ordered there by the colonel to see the rear of the battalion through the city; that we were to remain in the car until ordered to file out into column, in which form the regiment was to march through the city, according to Col. Jones' directions. He also informed me that he had received similar orders as to not firing as I had received. We stood at the front end of the car, facing to the rear end, discussing the probable outcome of the attempt to go through the city, both agreeing that rough times would probably be experienced before we got to Washington. Maj. Watson told me that, in passing alone through the crowd from the front car, he had talked with the policemen he had met, and with some of the excited crowd, and that they had threatened to bury all of us before we could reach the Camden street depot, and that he had told them we were ordered to Washington by the President, and that it would be

dangerous for anybody to try to stop us, as we were armed and disciplined, and had no intention of shirking a duty because it was dangerous. We waited, seemingly, a long time for the order to take place in column, but it never came, and no intimation came from anybody that the programme had undergone any change. Impatience at the delay caused one or both of us to turn and look out of the front door of the car, when we saw that all of the cars ahead of us had disappeared, and horses were being attached to our car. This surprised both of us, as we did not know what had become of the regiment. Our orders being to remain in the car until ordered to file out, we had nothing to do but to watch the movement of the car, which, so far as we knew, was being moved to some other part of the yard to join the other part of the regiment. It was but a few minutes before the car reached the corner of President and Pratt streets, where the mob was assembled in great numbers, evidently eager to give us a warm reception. As the car was turning to the left into Pratt street, it was thrown from the track and stopped. The mob had placed a large anchor and other heavy obstructions across the track for the purpose of throwing the car off. Maj. Watson held a short consultation with me, and we both thought it safer to remain in the car, if possible, and it was determined that the soldiers should be kept in the car and the crowd kept out, while Maj. Watson saw what could be done toward replacing the car on the track. I ordered both doors guarded and myself stood at the front door or on the platform, while Maj. Watson got off and succeeded in getting a passing team to aid the car driver in putting the car on the track. Some little time was consumed in this proceeding, and during it the mob so increased as apparently to completely block up President street and Pratt street. They were very insulting and noisy, and threw at the car bricks, pieces of iron and coal and paving stones. Firearms were pointed at the windows and threats to shoot were frequent, accompanied with the vilest epithets they could invent for us. When the car was replaced the major ordered the driver to proceed, standing by him with the big navy revolver presented to the officer in Boston, and threatening that he would blow his brains out if he did not keep the horses moving and the car on the rails. I was frequently by the major's side to aid him in forcing the driver to obey, for it seemed our only chance to get out of that crowd. I was frequently called to other parts of the car by some of the men who had been hit by the flying missiles, and the men constantly called for permission to fire. I referred to the major, who only had the authority. He told them he had been ordered not to fire until some one was shot; that when that occurred he would give the order, and then they could take a hand in the game. When the car started after it was replaced we caught a perfect shower of paving stones and other missiles and some few gun or pistol shots, which latter had not up to that time troubled us. The car moved slowly, and had crossed the canal bridge on Pratt street, the firing both of missiles and shots constantly growing worse, when my attention was called to a soldier in the middle of the car who had had his thumb shot away, and who held it up as though he thought that ought to warrant the order to fire. I called Maj. Watson's attention to this wound, which he

looked at and then said: "Boys, you may fire; shelter yourselves while loading, and then take good aim as you fire through the windows." The men were not long in obeying this order. They did not cheer aloud, but they looked it, and went regularly at work firing at will as fast as they could load and get aim out of the windows, without too much danger of their being hit themselves. While we were looking at the man's thumb the car was stopped, and the driver and his horses were surrounded by the mob and being urged away from the car along toward the direction we had been traveling. The pavement had been torn up and laid in piles at the place we were then stopped, and they were thrown at the car with so much force as to break in window frames and the car panels. I thought it impossible to go farther in the car, and told Maj. Watson I thought he had better lead us out, so we might sell our lives as dearly as possible. It seemed to me that we must be annihilated before we could fight our way through that great crowd, and what disaster had befallen the remainder of the regiment we knew not, but could, from our own prospects, only imagine the worst. The major said it was his duty to get as many of them through the city safely as possible, and that the car was a safer place than the open street, and that he would try to compel the driver to return to the car, and directed me to see that no one left or entered the car. I ordered Lieut. Emery to guard the rear door while I took a position at the front door, calling Private Spencer to my side. The driver and horses were then several rods away, making off. Maj. Watson started after him with his pistol in his hand, and I watched his progress from the front platform. I could not see him all of the time for the crowd, but I did see him on his way back with his pistol pointed at the driver's head. Why they did not shoot the major I never could imagine, but he got safely to the car with the driver, who, at the point of the major's pistol and mine, reattached the team to the car. While Maj. Watson was after the driver I noticed a man addressing a part of the crowd out at the front of the car, and I thought he meant mischief. I saw him pointing at me, and I told Spencer if he made any demonstrations to shoot him. The fellow drew a revolver, aimed at me, when Spencer instantly shot him dead, and that scattered the crowd in that direction just before the major reached the car with the team. The car again moved, the assault continuing with greater fury than ever. The driver was told that if he again left the platform he was a dead man. Just before we reached South Howard street the mob had torn up the track so that we could go no farther on it, and, under the major's orders, I formed my company in the street and commenced the march for the Camden street station, leaving the car completely smashed. The distance was short and the dense crowd that blocked the way was pressed aside as we entered the depot to find the main body of the regiment seated in the cars and Col. Jones on the platform awaiting our arrival. He ordered us into the cars, and we then heard that he had been rapidly drawn across the city and had no time to countermand his order to march, and that the cars containing him and his staff and Companies A, B, E, F, G and H had passed across the city without being attacked, excepting an occasional stone and constant abuse. We were

astonished to hear that four companies and the band were still missing, for we supposed Company K was the extreme left of the regiment. I went to Col. Jones and offered the services of my company to march back in search of the missing men, but he ordered me to remain in the car. Many of the men of Company K were hit and bruised, but only four of them were wounded with gun shots. Their names were reported and appear in the list of the wounded of the regiment. The statements I have seen published give a pretty accurate account of the trying scenes endured while we waited in the Camden street depot. I saw no one show cowardice. On the contrary, all were remarkably cool, considering the circumstances.

WALTER S. SAMPSON,

Captain Company K, 6th Massachusetts Volunteers.

Boston, April 8, 1886.

Letter of Rev. Charles Babbidge, Chaplain of the "Old Sixth" and the first graduate of Harvard College to enlist.

"PEPPERELL, June 6th, 1886.

"COL. B. F. WATSON:

"Dear Friend and Comrade:—The Oration, so interesting in the *hearing*, proves even more so in the *reading*. * * * Your work is admirable for its clearness, calmness, and accuracy. It could not by any means do more perfect justice to the subject and to the writer.

One of my copies I shall deposit in Harvard College Library; the other I shall treasure up as a memento of events and friends of other days.

"Respectfully yours,

"CHARLES BABIDGE."

JUDGE BROWN'S
DEFENSE OF BALTIMORE

A REVIEW

(*From the Editorial columns of THE INDEPENDENT [N. Y.], June 2d, 1896.*)

BALTIMORE AND THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1861. A STUDY OF THE WAR. By George William Brown, Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, and Mayor of the City in 1861. Published in Extra Volume III of the Series of Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.

THE DEFENSE OF BALTIMORE.

The Hon. George William Brown, Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, and formerly Mayor of the city, has, after twenty-five years acceded to frequent requests that he should give an account of the events which occurred in Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, about which, he says, "much that is exaggerated and sensational has been circulated," a statement which if accurate, would not be remarkable with reference to a most dramatic opening struggle, on a historic day, in a historic war.

The author has made a very readable book in which he has, fairly and otherwise, but in general with marked ability, dealt with several subjects, including the attack upon the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts in the streets of Baltimore; the administration of the City Government under his Mayoralty; the administration of the Military Department which included Baltimore; the plot to assassinate President Lincoln; the interview between the President and himself at the White House; the conflict between Chief-Justice Taney and martial law; the arrest of Ross Winans, the Police Commissioners, Marshal Kane and other prominent Marylanders; and a personal chapter.

The prominence of the author and the influential auspices under which the publication is made, as well as the importance of the subject from a historical point of view, combine to make it desirable to correct some of its more evident errors.

Judge Brown starts off with the decided disadvantage, if sincerity be considered, of a seeming desire to *assert* that in 1861 he was not a Secessionist, and a seeming equal desire to *prove* that he really was one. The latter fact seems to us clearly established. Whether the exacting society of his section, which tolerates no adulteration of Southern sympathies, and to which this side of his book appears to be anxiously addressed, will accord him the same verdict, is doubtful. His consistency is also made to carry heavy burdens, for while engaged in belittling the exploits of the soldiers of the "Sixth" by damaging contrasts with the efforts of his official associates, he is compelled temporarily to reconstruct most advanced disunionists into most efficient defenders of Union soldiers; as, for instance, the Board of Police Commissioners, Marshal Kane and his police.

Quoting a few specimen extracts, we leave the reader to determine for himself on which side of the historical question Judge Brown really belongs, while reserving to ourselves the right to doubt that he impartially occupies both sides. (*The italics in most cases are ours.*)

He says:

"I was deeply attached to the Union from a feeling imbibed in early childhood, and constantly strengthened by knowledge and personal experience." "I did not believe in secession as a constitutional right." "In my speech * * * I denied the right of a state to secede from the Union was guaranteed by the Constitution." "It was my opinion that the Confederacy would prove a rope of sand."

He then illustrates his veneration for the Union as follows:

"I thought the seceding states should have been allowed to depart in peace." "There can be no true union in a Republic unless the parts are held together by a feeling of common interest, and also of mutual respect." "Moreover, it is not pleasant to disturb the ashes of a great conflagration, which, although they have grown cold on the surface, cover embers still capable of emitting both smoke and heat." "What course, then, was left to the South if it was determined to maintain its rights under the Constitution? What but the right of self-defense?" "The house of every man is his castle, and he may defend it to the death against all aggressors. When a hostile hand is raised to strike a blow, he who is assaulted need not wait until the blow falls, but on the instant may protect himself as best he can * * * and where constitutional rights of a people are in jeopardy, a kindred right of self-defense belongs to them." "In my proclamation I concurred with the Governor in his determination to preserve the peace and maintain inviolate the honor and integrity of Maryland, and added that I could not withhold my expression of satisfaction at his resolution that no troops should be sent from Maryland to the soil of any other state."

Is this historian a Unionist or a Disunionist?

It is fair to recall the fact that this defense of Baltimore, for that is its real title, was written over twenty-five years after Judge Brown first knew that the assault in Baltimore was made upon the "Sixth" in its orderly march through Maryland, the only route by which the Capital of the country could be reached and protected from capture by Southern troops which had been in open warfare against the national authorities *for about three months.*

A just discrimination upon the above quotations will aid in determining the reliance to be placed upon Judge Brown's narrative of the March of the "Sixth" through Baltimore, in which he says he participated "for more than a third of a mile." If his memory is accurate as to the distance he marched, his opportunity for observation was even then *limited to about one-third* of the distance marched by *one of the three* detachments in which the "Sixth" separately encountered the reception given to them by the Judge's constituents. In charity it must be borne in mind that under some circumstances, distances *seem* longer than the facts justify. The Judge was making his admeasurements under circumstances, he

would have us believe, of no special danger except from an occasional brickbat, and from these circumstances he calmly and reflectively withdrew himself, of course in no degree quickened in his movements through apprehension of harm. He says:

"I immediately felt that, as Mayor of the city, it was not my province to volunteer such advice" [to shoot down the assailants]. "It then seemed to me that I was in the wrong place, for my presence did not avail to protect either the soldiers or the citizens, and I stepped out from the column."

Captain Follansbee, who was in command of *that* detachment, asserts that the Mayor did not, audibly at least, indulge in any such philosophic reasoning, but after walking beside him for "*about a hundred yards*" suddenly exclaimed, "This is too hot a place for me," and left without saying "by your leave."

Among the other truly wonderful things the Judge saw during his brief conjunction with the "Sixth" were the exploits of a "*quiet*" citizen. He says: "A young lawyer then and now known as a quiet citizen, seized a flag of one of the companies and nearly tore it from its staff." For this quiet proceeding the Judge says the young lawyer got shot through the thigh, but the author draws consolation from the fact that "he survived to enter the Army of the Confederacy." The puzzle presented by this thrilling incident is to know where the young lawyer found a flag of one of the companies to seize, *as neither of them had any flag*.

Throughout the book the situation in Baltimore is represented as not very serious, when the deeds of a handful of Northern soldiers forcing a march through its hostile streets are under consideration; but when Baltimore officials advance to the front, language is scarcely sufficient to describe the terrible uprising of all classes of the people. In the endeavor to magnify the efforts of the authorities on the 19th of April, their omission to take the most obvious *precautionary* measures, is thought to be sufficiently palliated by representing that the Mayor had only half an hour's notice, before the arrival of the "Sixth," that the city was in danger of invasion. When he received this important notification Judge Brown represents himself as rushing to the *wrong* depot—the Camden Street station—the depot of departure, more than a mile from the one where the troops must arrive. Why he did not attempt to protect the troops, with his very efficient police, before the march, instead of after the fight was nearly finished, he makes no attempt to explain. This same Mayor, it seems, more than a month before, fell into the same error when he undertook to prevent the assassination of President Lincoln. He then, so his book records, repaired to the *wrong* depot. Is it credible that the authorities of Baltimore were not aware of the march of the "Sixth" across the country from Boston to Baltimore, when the news of that march, and the ovations it called forth, was sent by telegrams all over the country, and filled the newspapers of the land? It is a well established fact that organization and preparation had been long previ-

ously made to prevent the passage of the "Sixth" through Baltimore. An officer of the "Sixth" testifies, that he not only saw, as the train slowly passed by the lateral streets before it reached the President Street depot, armed men in great numbers frantically running to intercept it, but that while passing through the street from front to rear of the train, when it was first stopped, he was informed by policemen who accosted him, that preparations had been made to receive the regiment, that their graves were already dug, and that not a man of them would get through the city alive. Even Marshal Kane—whom this book decks out in a misfit patriot's garb—had been for days engaged, with or without the connivance of the Mayor, in attempting to bully the railroad officers into a refusal to transport troops to the defense of Washington, menaced though it was by an organized Southern army having at that moment recruiting stations in Baltimore; and menaced as well by an organizing Expeditionary Corps which was, from Baltimore, to seize Washington in the interests of secession. Judge Brown, on page 40, prints the following insolent note of the City Marshal to the Railroad Agent, written three days before the assault on the "Sixth."

"*Dear Sir:* Is it true, as stated, that an attempt will be made to pass the volunteers from New York intended to war upon the South over your road to-day? It is important that we have explicit understanding upon this subject.

"Your friend,

"GEORGE P. KANE."

That the progress of the "Sixth" was well known in Baltimore is shown by the book itself. If Baltimoreans furnished, *without notice*, the reception which history has recorded, it is fearful to contemplate what that reception would have been if notice had been furnished. The railroad bridges in such case might have been burned before the regiment reached Baltimore instead of afterward.

Judge Brown says:

"Seven companies of the Massachusetts Sixth reached the Camden Street station, the first carloads being assailed only with jeers and hisses; but the last car containing Company 'K' and Major Watson, was delayed on the passage and, according to one account, was thrown off the track by obstructions and had to be replaced by the help of a passing team; paving-stones and other missiles were thrown, the windows were broken, and some of the soldiers were struck."

With these few lines Judge Brown completes for posterity the history of this episode of the fight in Baltimore *wherein was shed the first blood of the great Rebellion*.

Hanson's history, to which Judge Brown refers, occupies pages in the barest outline of it. It is there stated:

"The car containing Captain Sampson and 62 men of his Company K, under the immediate command of Major Watson was three times thrown from the track; Major Watson each time getting out and *compelling* the

driver to assist in removing the obstructions and getting in motion again. Referring to the roster of Company K, the reader will see the names of the first men who were wounded in this war."

Again Hanson says:

"It [the car] was no sooner started, than it was attacked by clubs, paving-stones and other missiles. The men were very anxious to fire on their assailants, but Major Watson forbade them until they should be attacked by firearms. One or two soldiers were attacked by paving-stones and brickbats; and at length one man's thumb was shot off, when, holding the wounded hand up to the Major, he asked leave to fire in return. Orders were then given to lie on the bottom of the car and load, and, rising, to fire from the windows at will. These orders were promptly obeyed."

We do not know who furnished Mr. Hanson this account, but it differs materially from Judge Brown's. We rely mainly for details of the experiences of the "Sixth" in Baltimore upon the oration of the Lieutenant-Colonel, who was present, which is the most carefully prepared account yet published, and the one indorsed by the survivors.

This particular episode of the fight, viz., the "attack," is chiefly remarkable, when it is considered that 62 raw militiamen forced their way through Baltimore against the resistance of a mob estimated at about 20,000. Judge Brown was not present at this fight; he was still at the wrong depot. To quote again from the book: "The nation has learned many lessons of wisdom from its Civil War, and not the least among them is that every *truthful* contribution to its annals, or to its teachings, is not without some value." One of the most undeniable facts of that affair was that a most determined attack was made upon the ninth car, containing Company K, to prevent its passage. It was thrown from the track, obstructed by anchors and loads of sand, and in various other ways stopped and its horses forcibly removed, assaulted by paving-stones and brickbats, and occasional bullets; and at last, when it had been thoroughly smashed, permanently stopped by tearing up the track, many of the soldiers in it had been injured and four of them shot, the fight having lasted not far from an hour, and during the last part firearms were freely used on both sides. And yet Judge Brown says: "It *happened* that a number of laborers were at work repaving Pratt Street, and had taken up the cobble-stones for the purpose of relaying them." This was a singular coincidence, but when in addition *it happened* "that a cart coming by with a load of sand, the track was blocked by dumping the cart-load upon it"; and when *it happened* "that some anchors * * * were dragged up to and placed across the track," the coincidence was most remarkable. When Company K had successfully fought its way through the city, the track and the bridge were so torn up as to prevent the remainder of the companies, accidentally left behind, from forcing their way through *in the cars*, so they bravely undertook and triumphantly accomplished the "march through," which has become historic. This detachment of four companies, under Captain Follansbee, numbering 220

men all told, in this perilous march was opposed by every device in the power of an infuriated mob of 20,000 men to invent. It was assailed with a great variety of missiles; guns and pistols were used; barricades and other means of obstruction were resorted to, such as tearing up the planking of the bridge, and extemporizing a battery with which to contest the passage. In *this detachment* alone, 32 soldiers were wounded, and 4 were killed. Left behind, the soldiers of this detachment were at liberty to halt and retreat; instead of doing which, there in the hostile street they organized their battalion, voluntarily faced the danger and successfully forced the passage. Judge Brown treats this brave feat by stranger militiamen with belittling comment. He says: "One of the band of rioters appeared bearing a Confederate flag, and it was carried a considerable distance before it was torn from its staff by *citizens*." It is a well-authenticated fact that this flag was captured by the soldiers, and the officer (Lieutenant Lynde) is now alive, who finally secured it by knocking down its possessor with the hilt of his sword.

The Judge says: "In crossing Pratt Street bridge the troops had to pick their way over joists and scantling which by this time had been placed upon the bridge to obstruct their passage." The undoubted fact is that the planking of the bridge was removed and the troops compelled to cross upon the string-pieces, and then to scale barricades erected near the bridge. Again he says:

"I hurried on, and approaching Pratt Street bridge, I saw a battalion, which proved to be four companies of the Massachusetts regiment, which had crossed the bridge, coming toward me in double-quick time." "They were firing wildly." "The mob, which was not very large, * * * was pursuing with shouts and stones, and, I think, an occasional pistol shot." "There was neither concert of action nor organization among the rioters." "They were armed only with such stones and missiles as they could pick up, and a few pistols." "Rioters rushed at the soldiers and attempted to snatch their muskets, and at least on two occasions succeeded." "The *by-standers* * * * seemed to suffer most, because * * * the mob, pursuing the soldiers from the rear, they * * * could not easily face backward to fire, but could shoot at those whom they passed on the street." "Three soldiers, at the head of the column, leveled their muskets and fired into a group standing on the sidewalk, who, as far as I could see, were taking no active part." "Marshal Kane, with about 50 policemen (as I then supposed, but I have since ascertained that in fact there were not so many) came at a run from the direction of the Camden Street station [wrong depot] and, throwing themselves in the rear of the troops, they formed a line in front of the mob, and with drawn revolvers kept it back. This was between Light and Charles Streets [just before the Camden Street depot was reached]. Marshal Kane's voice shouted, 'Keep back, men, or I shoot'! This movement, which I saw myself, was gallantly executed, and was perfectly successful. The mob recoiled like water from a rock."

Thus first for Baltimorean bravery our author indulges in heroics. The "not very large" mob, which had "neither concert of action nor organization," which was "armed only with such missiles as they could pick up" in one of Baltimore's clean and paved streets, and perhaps a few

pistols; that mob by which 220 armed soldiers were being pursued, "recoiled" before the only "gallant" thing Judge Brown saw, at all events mentions, on that occasion, namely, Marshal Kane forming a line with less than fifty of Baltimore's police, to protect Massachusetts soldiers, who, while he was out of sight and danger at the wrong depot, and his secession police were looking on passively, if not approvingly, had, in two independent and unsupported detachments, one numbering 62 and the other 220, fought their way for nearly a mile and a half through the streets of a city of 200,000 inhabitants filled with 20,000 infuriated rioters; and had all but reached the point of destination before the "gallant" appearance of the police "nearly ended the fight"; and, says Judge Brown, "the column passed on under the protection of the police, without serious molestation to Camden Street station." This station was at this time held by Colonel Jones and his detachment of about 500 men, whose presence *alone* held in check the rioting and confusion which our author mentions as prevailing there.

Would it have weakened Mr. Brown's position, as Mayor, Judge, historian or apologist, or his claim to consideration from readers North or South if he had freely and fairly awarded to this regiment from the North the credit of having shown, in at least a respectable degree, soldierly persistence and pluck in this their first—the generation's first—taste of war?

Who composed the "mob"? Judge Brown shall answer. The only rioters to whom he gives us a personal introduction are: "a quiet citizen," in the person of a "young lawyer," who afterward "rose to the rank of Captain" in the Confederate service; "a peaceful merchant," he being "a young man" and "one of the leading rioters"; "a well-known dry goods merchant," who was shot by the soldiers while he and his friends "raised the cheer for Jefferson Davis and the South." Significantly just here we may again quote:

"After it became plain that no movement would be made toward secession, a large number of young men, including not a few of the flower of the State, and representing largely the more wealthy and prominent families, escaped across the border and entered the ranks of the Confederacy. The number has been estimated as many as 20,000."

Who was Marshal Kane, according to this author? Herein, as ever, Judge Brown is contradictory.

"It is due to Marshal Kane to say that subsequently, and while he remained in office, he performed his duties to the satisfaction of the Board" [that is, Mayor Brown and the Police Commissioners, all of whom were subsequently arrested and imprisoned as disunionists]. "Some years after the war was over, he was elected Sheriff, and still later Mayor of the city, and in both capacities he enjoyed the respect and regard of the community."

Yet Judge Brown records the fact that Marshal Kane on this same 19th day of April, when he with less than fifty of his hundreds of policemen protected (*sic*) the "Sixth" in such a "gallant" manner, that the

mob "recoiled from them as water from a rock" telegraphed to Bradley T. Johnson at Frederick, as follows:

"Streets red with Maryland blood; send expresses over the mountains of Maryland and Virginia for the riflemen to come without delay. Fresh hordes will be down on us to-morrow. We will fight them and whip them or die."

Judge Brown says:

"It was considered that the services of Colonel Kane were, in that crisis, indispensable, because no one could control as he could the *secession element* of the city, which was then in the ascendant."

It is intolerable that a Judge on the Bench, under the auspices of a great University should attempt to palm off as history the statement that the few hundred Yankee militiamen who forced their way through Baltimore against the will of its mob, and its "secession element * * * which was in the ascendant," were dependent for protection upon the disunionist head of a disloyal police, who in this telegram was referring to journeying strangers, to whom, as such, Baltimore owed the protection of asylum; to American citizens in this regard entitled to the guaranty of the same constitutional rights in Maryland as belonged to them in Massachusetts; to soldiers obeying the lawful orders of the Commander-in-chief of the National forces. These were the men whose hordes "the riflemen" were summoned to meet with the vain boast, "we will fight them and whip them or die."

It is impossible in a brief review to relate the facts which made the march through Baltimore of the "Sixth" Regiment famous at the time, and which called out unusual plaudits from the loyal people and press, and secured from Congress a vote of thanks for the gallantry displayed; but in reply to Judge Brown's belittling statement: "as the fighting was at close quarters the small number of casualties shows that it was not so severe as has generally been supposed," a single quotation will be given from the oration before referred to.

"It was ascertained that about half of the ammunition issued to the men who had been engaged in actual conflict, had been expended." It is probable that ten rounds of ammunition to a man were distributed just before Baltimore was reached, although some claim there were twenty rounds. After the band of the ("Sixth") had declined Lieutenant Lynde's escort, they had remained in their car, and dispatched one of their number to consult Colonel Small (the commander of the unarmed Pennsylvania troops to which Judge Brown refers, and whose train was attached to that containing the "Sixth," but with whom there was no communication by the officers of the "Sixth") as the best thing to do. The messenger seems to have found no relief from Colonel Small, as his men were scattering and being chased in all directions by the crowd.

The messenger of the band was followed back to his car, and the mob assaulted it. The inmates, being without arms, taking to flight, were pursued and beaten, receiving no help from the police, but, on the con-

trary, taunts and insults. Substantially every unarmed man attached to the "Sixth" and the whole of Colonel Small's brigade were subsequently sent back to the North, with four hundred policemen to protect them so long as they were within the limits of Baltimore. If, as is estimated, after a careful consideration, over 1,500 rounds of ammunition were expended by the 300 soldiers under fire, in both of the assaulted detachments, it is probable that the damage was great, as the mark was a large one, and presented on every hand. Chaplain Hanson, in his history of the "Sixth," in speaking of the Baltimore affair, says:

"Loyal men in Baltimore, who were careful to collect all of the facts, are of opinion that about 100 of the mob were killed by the guns of our soldiers. If the estimate of 100 killed is correct, and if the killed and wounded among the citizens bear the same proportion that they do among the soldiers" (four killed to thirty-six wounded with gun-shots) "there must have been over 900 wounded. * * * Company K was probably not under fire an hour, and the other four marching companies, C, I, L and D, probably not so long as an hour and a half, during which time about *fourteen per cent.* of the soldiers exposed were *shot.*"

Judge Brown rightly concluded that the defense of Baltimore would not be complete until he had disproved the existence of a conspiracy among its people to assassinate Mr. Lincoln on his way through that city in February, 1861, to assume the office of Chief Magistrate to which he had been elected. To this task he accordingly devoted 42 of his 170 pages, and is satisfied that he has accomplished it, chiefly by the testimony of Colonel Lamon, who accompanied Mr. Lincoln on that journey, and who subsequently held close personal and official relations with him. Colonel Lamon confesses that after *implicitly believing in the conspiracy for ten years*—that is long after Mr. Lincoln had really been assassinated—he had, upon what evidence is not stated, come to the conclusion that the conspiracy was all a delusion. The impression is sought to be given that Mr. Lincoln finally came to disbelieve in it, but this rests upon no foundation better than Colonel Lamon's assertion that Mr. Lincoln afterward regretted the occasion his precautions gave to his enemies to cast derision upon him. This is far from proof that he had changed his mind as to *the existence* of a plot which, after mature deliberation, he believed to be so real that he, a man of unquestioned personal bravery, felt it his duty to the country to circumvent it. Such men as Samuel M. Felton, the President of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad are not easily deceived upon a subject which has engaged their investigation for weeks.

History has demonstrated that the assassination of a President for his political views is not an impossible occurrence. Many facts tending to establish the existence of the deliberate design to take Mr. Lincoln's life while passing through Baltimore are known to the prominent actors in the scenes of those times, and additional evidence is constantly being unearthed. These facts may not singly, or even when combined, be sufficient to secure conviction in Judge Brown's Court of Law, but they

are ample to produce the moral conviction of the existence of that dastardly conspiracy. A gentleman of undoubted veracity and respectability now lives in this city of New York, who recently related the fact that *his father was the conductor of the train which, on this occasion, bore Mr. Lincoln through Baltimore, and that he was offered by the conspirators one hundred thousand dollars if he would simply pass through the car and lay his hand upon the berth occupied by the President.* The man who refused this bribe so tempting to a poor man was politically opposed to Mr. Lincoln, and was well known to the people of Baltimore, he having been a conductor on that railroad for over twenty-five years. These facts he communicated to his son a few days before his approaching and certain death, and the statement can be substantiated under oath. Judge Brown will find he has undertaken a difficult task in attempting to disprove the existence of this plot, for in the course of events many similar pieces of corroborative testimony will doubtless come to light.

A letter from Major-General Charles Devens, Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

BOSTON, July 6th, '87.

COL. B. F. WATSON.

Dear Sir:

I am much obliged by a copy of the article in the *Independent* of June 2. I have read it with the greatest interest, as I did your Address at Lowell three or four years since on the same subject. I hope you will not cease to insist that this story shall be truthfully told.

Resp'y,

CHAS. DEVENS.

A letter from Chaplain Babbidge.

PEPPERELL, June 8th, 1887.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND COMRADE:

It is now nearly midnight, and I have been amusing myself with the hoe and spade until I am nearly "played out." Still, immediately upon its reception, I began to read your Article in the *Independent*, and nobly have you done your work. Mayer Brown may now hang up his Historical fiddle. I am too tired to unburthen my mind, but will only say, that though we have overwhelming proofs of a Special Providence directing human affairs, I want no better proof of the fact, than we have in the connection of Col. Watson with the affair in Baltimore in April, 1861. I shall write.

Ever yours,

C. BABBIDGE.

THE CLAIM OF CERTAIN PENNSYLVANIANS
TO HAVE BEEN
THE “FIRST DEFENDERS”
OF WASHINGTON.

(From the editorial columns of THE INDEPENDENT, May, 1886.)

THE CLAIMS OF CERTAIN PENNSYLVANIANS

TO HAVE BEEN THE "FIRST DEFENDERS" OF WASHINGTON.

In speaking of the exercises in Massachusetts commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the passage of the Sixth Regiment through Baltimore, *The Independent* of 22nd April said that the Sixth (Regiment, of course) "was the first to respond to the call of President Lincoln for troops. It was the first to shed its blood in defense of the Union, and the first to shed hostile blood." Henry C. Russel, of Pottsville, Penn., takes exception to our statement, and shows that a Pennsylvania *company* offered its services to Mr. Cameron, then Secretary of War, on the 11th of April, 1861, which was accepted by him on the 13th, and that four other companies located near Harrisburg also volunteered, and that these companies, on the 16th and 17th of April, were ordered to Harrisburg, where they, to the number of 540 men, were mustered into the United States Service on the 18th, and, with forty men of Company F, 5th Artillery U. S. A., on that day took the train for Washington, about 100 miles distant from Harrisburg, and that, in passing through Baltimore on the 18th, a colored attendant upon one of the companies was hit with a brick, "which," writes our correspondent, "was the first blood shed in the War." To this statement of facts is appended Mr. Cameron's certificate that "these were the first troops to reach the seat of Government"; also an extract from a speech of General Grant at Philadelphia in 1879, in which he said:

"Up to this time I had supposed the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment was the first to enter the National Capital in 1861, after the President's call for 75,000 men, and I suppose I fell into the mistake by reports made at the time in the newspapers."

And also a resolution of the House of Representatives at Washington, passed July 22nd, 1861, thanking "the five hundred and thirty soldiers from Pennsylvania who passed through the mob at Baltimore, and reached Washington on the 18th day of April last, for the defense of the National Capital."

We learn from Colonel Watson's "Oration at Lowell," which we were reviewing, that he offered at a meeting of the field officers and commanders of companies of the Sixth, assembled at Lowell on the 19th day of January, 1861, a resolution, tendering the services of the regiment, which passed unanimously, and which was, on the 23rd of January, 1861, indorsed by the Massachusetts Legislature, and on the same day forwarded to President Lincoln by Governor Andrew; that

the President's call for seventy-five thousand troops was issued on the 15th of April; that at seven o'clock, on the morning of the 16th, the Sixth had assembled from four counties and thirty towns and cities, completely organized (*as a regiment*), armed and equipped, ready for duty; that on the morning of the 19th of April, after a march of about 500 miles, *they fought* their way through Baltimore, having four killed and thirty-six wounded *by fire-arms*, not counting a great number injured by *bricks* and other missiles, and leaving of the mob, as estimated, about 100 killed and 900 wounded, reaching Washington on the afternoon of the 19th, when they were met by President Lincoln, who, with tears in his eyes, welcomed the Sixth, and said that if they had not arrived Washington would be in the hands of the rebels before morning. "Lossing's Civil War," to which our correspondent refers us, says that these Pennsylvania companies were *almost entirely without arms*. We learn from reliable sources that General Scott informed the Sixth, on its arrival, that he depended upon *it* to save the capital, and that it was at once put upon important duty, and was the only military reliance the General had until eight days after its arrival, when the Seventh New York and Eighth Massachusetts reached Washington, by way of Annapolis. Our Pennsylvania friends are entitled to great credit for their patriotic promptness, and, doubtless, to the credit of having reached Washington several hours before the Sixth, and, had they been armed and organized as a battalion, they would have afforded great comfort to the anxious and bewildered authorities in Washington during the week when it was cut off from communication with the North. Governor Andrew, in his order dismissing the Sixth, says:

"The Sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia * * * has returned home. It was the *first* which went forward to the defense of the National Capital. It passed through Baltimore despite the cowardly assault made upon it, and *was the first to reach Washington*. Its gallant conduct has reflected new luster on the commonwealth, and has given new historic interest to the 19th of April."

The House of Representatives at Washington on July 22nd, 1861:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due, and are heartily tendered to the Sixth Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteers for the alacrity with which they responded to the call of the President, and the patriotism and bravery which they displayed on the 19th of April last *in fighting their way through the city of Baltimore* on their march to the defense of the Federal Capital."

Colonel Watson in his oration claims that "the Sixth was first to volunteer, first in the field, first to shed its blood, and first to triumph"; and his claim, as well as our statement, seems to be justified by the facts; certainly so, when it is remembered that both statements were made as applying to a regiment of soldiers armed and equipped.

(From the *New York Evening Post* of February 12, 1896.)

THE FIRST DEFENDERS' MEDALS.

Statements by Officers of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment—Some Interesting History.

[General Jones' Despatch.]
[Special Despatch to *The Evening Post*.]

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1896.—The author of the recent communication to the *Evening Post*, who from a long distance kindly corrected these despatches as to what was going on in Washington, will doubtless be interested in the following letter, written by ex-Lieut.-Gov. Jones of New York to one of the Congressmen who is espousing the cause of the Massachusetts "first defenders" against those of Pennsylvania:

"It has just come to my knowledge that an unjust claim is being made from Pennsylvania for recognition as having supplied the first troops in the defense of the capital in April, 1861. As Colonel of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, which was prominently in evidence at that time, I must, in behalf of the brave boys whom I had the honor to command at that time, make a vigorous protest against the recognition of such claim, and ask your good offices as a member of the House of Representatives to prevent this proposed injustice. I will appear before the committee if it should be deemed necessary."

COLONEL WATSON'S COMMUNICATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

SIR: In your issue of the 6th instant your correspondent, William F. McCay, commenting on a special despatch printed in the *Evening Post* of January 20 with reference to the bill introduced in the National House of Representatives by Mr. Erdmann of Pennsylvania, conferring medals upon five companies of Pennsylvania volunteers as "First Defenders" of Washington in April, 1861, refers in very courteous terms to "the gallant Sixth Massachusetts Regiment," and says, "There is no hostility existing between it and the 'First Defenders.'" Although a constant reader of the *Evening Post* for more than a quarter of a century, I failed to notice the special despatch referred to, but I feel impelled to correct some of the statements of Mr. McCay concerning an historical event which happened nearly thirty-five years ago, lest silence might be misconstrued.

Mr. McCay denies that the five Pennsylvania companies were "Wide-Awakes." I do not know whether they were or were not such in the political sense; they certainly were such in the patriotic sense, and are entitled to all honor for the alacrity of their response to the nation's need. The "Old Sixth" has never grudged them the fame which they undoubtedly earned by reporting at Washington, about 100 miles away from their homes, on the night of April 18, 1861, or by the meritorious services rendered subsequently during the war as members of other organizations.

The present request is for medals, which is liable to be construed as a Congressional endorsement of their claim to be "First Defenders," and it is made without giving precedence or even reference to the "Old Sixth," and to the latter naturally seems a derogation of its rights. A similar claim of precedence made by the "First Defenders" was met in the press nine years ago, so that its repetition occasions the "Old Sixth" no surprise, except as an instance of persistence against adverse fortune. The same claim was renewed and resisted upon the occasion of the Grand Encampment of Veterans at Washington, referred to by Mr. McCay as a proof that precedence was on that occasion accorded to the "First Defenders." Mr. McCay says: "The First Defenders and the Sixth held the post of honor in the grand review and, at the head of that mighty army of veterans who wore the blue, marched side by side in fraternal honor and pride, each conceding to the other all due honor and consideration." The fact is that in response to the urgent request of the "First Defenders" for the right of the line, the commanding officer accorded the right to the "Old Sixth," and assigned the "First Defenders" to the lead of the second of the double parallel-column formation in which that procession marched, the other column, led by the "Old Sixth," being the directing flank, the post of honor, as the march was right in front, and the guide, left. Persistent claim for *first* place thus secured for the "First Defenders" second place, which fact does not amount to proof of acknowledged precedence, as claimed.

A defender is "one who defends." Whom did these unarmed companies as such defend? The moral influence of their patriotic presence, however reassuring to the capital and creditable to themselves, could hardly be included in the category of defense in time of war. To what military service, as such companies, were they assigned in the twenty-four hours which they passed in Washington before the arrival of the "Old Sixth," or at any other time during the eight days after its arrival and before the city was relieved by the arrival of Gen. Butler with the Eighth Massachusetts and the Seventh New York? No such service is specified. I am unable to confirm Mr. McCay's statement that "when the Sixth reached Washington they found the five companies of Pennsylvanians occupying the House wing of the capitol, which they had barricaded," except as implied in the statement of the fact that, upon the arrival of the Sixth in Washington, on the 19th of April, after its fight in Baltimore, it was met at the station by Major McDowell, then chief of Gen. Scott's staff, and conducted to the capitol, which the Colonel of the Old Sixth was ordered to take possession of and to defend. At that time Major McDowell casually remarked that there were a few unarmed Pennsylvania militiamen in the building, but that they were without military organization. I was then second in command in the regiment. In pursuance of the duties of officer of the day, I posted my sentinels that evening around the capitol grounds and at all places of ingress into the building. That guard was maintained by the "Old Sixth" during the ensuing eight days, while Washington was beleaguered, and the capitol

during the same period was victualled and barricaded under the orders of the Colonel of the "Old Sixth." During this period members of the Pennsylvania companies were occasionally seen about the capitol, but no official intercourse took place between us, and nothing occurred to apprise us that they were "defenders" of anybody or anything, or that they constituted an organized military force. It was not until long after the war that the "Old Sixth" learned that these were "First Defenders."

Irrespective of the question whether they were defenders, were they "First"? If they were merely associated patriotic citizens, as they doubtless were, rushing unarmed to offer their services to their distressed government, they were not, even as such, "First," for Washington, at the time of their arrival, contained more than one such unarmed association of its own patriotic citizens, strenuously tendering their services to defend the government. Moreover, how can they be said to be "First Defenders" when in fact they were escorted through Baltimore and to Washington on the 18th of April by a battery of the regular army? The regulars, as escort, certainly preceded these five companies, and, being armed, possessed the essential qualification of defenders, which the helpless volunteers lacked. Mr. McCay refers to these five companies as "Pennsylvania volunteers who were the first to respond to the call of President Lincoln, and the first troops to reach and save the almost defenseless capital city and imperilled government." If by any military deeds they are entitled to medals for saving the capital, those deeds should be disclosed. When the Sixth arrived, Washington had not appreciated such salvation.

Can unorganized companies of unarmed militia, while outside the State having military control of them, be properly termed "troops"? In the communication to which I am referring no admission is made that the "Defenders" were unarmed. An attempt to excuse such a defenseless condition of "Defenders" seems to appear in the narrative, which says: "There was no time to organize regiments. * * * In response to the frantic appeals of the government at Washington * * * they rendezvoused at Harrisburg on the 7th of April. * * * Everything was in chaotic disorder and confusion at that early period, and early the ensuing morning they were sworn and mustered into the service of the United States and started for the capital city. All of these companies were regular militia companies, organized long before, some of them preceding the Mexican war." Are the regular militia companies of the "old Keystone State" ordinarily without arms? If not, why did these "Defenders" stack their arms at home and march for war in a defenseless condition? Such "chaotic" military "confusion" in itself would hardly entitle the old Keystone State to a monopoly of medals, but this should not detract from the merit of its patriotic wide-awake men.

Mr. McCay again says: "The 'First Defenders' * * * claim for themselves the great honor of being the first volunteers, not only to encounter the bloodthirsty mob at Baltimore, Md., on April 18, just twenty-four hours preceding the attack on the brave old Sixth Massachusetts, but

also to be the first to reach the capital, on the same evening; * * * " also they " were the first to respond to the call of President Lincoln." The mob in Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, is well known to history. I confess that it is news to me that there was a " bloodthirsty mob " there on April 18. The only casualty ever reported or claimed before by the " First Defenders " while being escorted through Baltimore was a bloody nose, belonging to a colored attendant of the " First Defenders," and received at the hand of some Baltimorean who did not fancy a " Defender " of that particular complexion. At other times and on proper occasions, by appointment of my surviving comrades, it has fallen to my lot to tell, for history, the story of the " Old Sixth " Massachusetts Regiment's affair in Baltimore, April 19, 1861. I do not propose to repeat it now, except in so far as to endeavor to frustrate this attempt, after the lapse of thirty-five years, to appropriate, by act of Congress, credit which belongs alone to the Sixth, and which history has accorded to it.

The Sixth Regiment has long been a part of the organized militia of Massachusetts. One if not more of its companies was chartered before the Revolution. President Lincoln's call, April 15, 1861, for 75,000 troops, found the " Old Sixth " dispersed in forty cities and towns. This call reached Col. Jones about five o'clock on the afternoon of the 15th. That night the call to arms was so effectively promulgated that the regiment, fully organized, uniformed, armed and equipped, assembled at its headquarters at Lowell, early on the morning of the 16th, proceeded to Boston, twenty-five miles away, and reported ready for duty to the Governor of the State during the afternoon of the 16th. This was before the " First Defenders " reported at Harrisburg in their " chaotic " condition. Three months before this time, on the 19th of January, 1861, the regiment had regularly volunteered its services in view of possible necessity, and this act of volunteering was endorsed by both houses of the Legislature and by Gov. Andrew, and was at the time communicated to President Lincoln. Therefore, in any event, the " First Defenders " were not " first to volunteer " or " first to respond." On the 17th of April, the Sixth, under orders, started for Washington. The " First Defenders " claim that they started for Washington from Harrisburg on the 18th of April. They accomplished their 100 miles on the same day, while the " Old Sixth " was on its 500 miles' journey. It travelled day and night, and reached Baltimore in the forenoon of the 19th of April, encountering there a mob of many thousands expressly assembled to prevent its reaching Washington to rescue it from its perilous condition. In the conflict which ensued, and which lasted several hours, the " Old Sixth," among other losses, lost four men killed and forty wounded, and it inflicted greater damage upon its assailants. At about dark the regiment reached Washington, where it was met by President Lincoln, who informed its officers that its arrival would probably save the city from capture that night. Gen. Scott at once utilized the " Old Sixth " in various ways for the defense of the city, and stated, during the eight days

next following, that he depended upon the "Old Sixth" to save the capital. Neither the President nor the commanding General expressed or intimated to us any reliance upon the five Pennsylvania companies who since the war have called themselves the "First Defenders."

It is true, as stated by Mr. McCay, that Congress thanked the five companies for their patriotism in "*passing through*" Baltimore on their way to the capital. It is also true that Congress, in July, 1861, thanked the "Old Sixth" for "the alacrity with which they responded to the call of the President, and the patriotism and bravery which they displayed on the 19th of April last *in fighting their way through* Baltimore, on their march to the defense of the federal capital." Gov. Andrew, in his order dismissing the "Old Sixth," said: "It was the first which went forward to the defense of the National Capital. It passed through Baltimore despite the cowardly assault made upon it, and was the first to reach Washington. Its gallant conduct has reflected new luster upon the commonwealth, and has given new historic interest to the 19th of April." The motto of the "Old Sixth" regiment is "First to volunteer—First in the field—First to shed its blood—First to triumph." History has confirmed this claim. It is most unlikely that Congress will listen to a demand which is a virtual denial of it.

B. F. WATSON.

New York City, February 8, 1896.

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS.

AN ADDRESS

Delivered at Lowell, Mass., April 19th, 1901, preceded by an eloquent introductory address by the Hon. Caleb Saunders, Ex-Mayor of Lawrence and a gallant member of Company I, with which he encountered the thickest of the fight in Baltimore.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE "OLD SIXTH" ASSOCIATION.

COMRADES--FRIENDS :

With a sense of pride and of profound obligation, I to-day comply with the flattering invitation of the Board of Officers of the "Old Sixth Massachusetts Regimental Association" to address you upon this Fortieth Anniversary of the conflict of the "Old Sixth" in the streets of Baltimore, on the 19th of April, 1861. At this late day the survivors of that conflict do not deem it necessary to revise their story of their campaign for the defense of Washington.

Comrades: Fifteen years ago, on the 25th anniversary of the Baltimore affair, I had the honor, by your express appointment, to narrate for history the main facts of that campaign, as the actors therein remembered them, in an oration, as you termed it, before the survivors and other distinguished citizens, which oration, by your direction, was printed, deposited in many of the public libraries of the country, and distributed among all accessible comrades of the "Old Sixth."

It is obvious that the limits of an oral address would not allow of the barest mention of many personal episodes of bravery and patriotic sacrifice. To that story, as history, the actors therein point for the information of posterity. When the eye-witnesses agree, who can question? Those comrades who were

then present and listened to that narrative signified no sign of disapproval, but voted assent, with the exception of our old commander and first colonel, General Jones, who subsequently, by letter, claimed that a few details had been omitted, and his letter specifying the corrections was, with pleasure, printed at the end of the oration. In it the General wrote: "The oration was a good one, and I was not disappointed, for I knew that your interest therein would command your best efforts. It is the only history of the Regiment, and, as such, it will be received."

Of the few prominent actors in that campaign then alive, but absent from the 25th Anniversary Reunion, but to whom the oration was subsequently sent, all, with the exception about to be noted, gave flattering testimony to its accuracy. One of the exceptions, if they may be called such, was the late gallant Captain A. S. Follansbee, of Company C, who, by the selection of his associate captains, made on the spot, commanded the four marching companies in their passage through Baltimore. As set forth in the oration, these companies had been left behind by the disarrangement of the order in which the Regiment had been embarked in the train. The conflict arising from their passage constituted the principal event of that memorable day. It is fully described in the oration. Any occasion for dissatisfaction on Captain Follansbee's part would be deplored. On the 7th day of May, 1886, and after the oration was printed, he wrote: "My Dear Colonel Watson: Yours of the 7th inst. came to hand, and am delighted to hear from you. * * I thank you very kindly for the papers sent. It was the first report of the celebration I had received. I have read your address and have no objection to its being printed and given to the public as the history

of our march through Baltimore in April, 1861, with the exception of one statement that alluded to me personally and which is entirely erroneous. * * The particular statement I refer to is that of Lieutenant Jepson, * * that after passing the bridge, I asked him what he thought should be next done, and he advised moving at double quick, and that I gave the order at his suggestion. * * The fact is I did not ask the advice of any officer. I cannot say that Lieutenant Jepson did not suggest such a movement, when near the bridge, but I do not recollect it. If he did, it was not acted on at that time. Much has been said about my giving the order to double quick, but the thing really has no significance, and only happened when we were probably about two-thirds across the city, and the probable distance travelled that way did not exceed one hundred yards, and that at a time when there was a lull in the firing on both sides, and after *all* the rapid firing had ceased. My idea was to connect with the balance of the Regiment as soon as possible, but, seeing that the rear companies did not keep properly closed up, I at once ordered quick time and shortened the step on the right of the batallion, until the ranks were in their proper position. These are the facts in the case and all there was of it. * * As regards the difference in my statement of 1861 and 1885, can only say that of 1861 was written under a strain of excitement the night we arrived in Washington, and my statement that the Mayor shot one of the rioters, came from the report of some of my men, and the statement that a policeman led the way, should have read 'he attempted to do so.' * * I was pleased to read that part of your address referring to Company K, with whom it was your fortune to be. I have never before read a detailed statement of that company's

doings on that eventful day, and am glad it is to be published."

Perhaps I may be pardoned for a digression enabling me to put on record the fact that the most accurate and complete account of the experience of Company K, on occasion of the fierce efforts of the rebels to prevent its passage through Baltimore, that has ever fallen under my notice, is that by the gallant Captain Walter S. Sampson, printed in the *Boston Herald*, April 19, 1886. It was attached to the oration as printed. For obvious reasons, the oration dealt lightly with that particular episode.

The other exception was General B. F. Butler, who was to have followed me with an address on the 25th Anniversary, but who was suddenly called to Washington. On May 23d, 1886, he wrote: "My Dear Colonel Watson,—I am in receipt of your elegantly bound oration at the gathering of the 'Old Sixth' Massachusetts, or rather the few remaining veterans, on the 25th Anniversary of the 19th of April, when from their ranks flowed the first blood of the great Civil War. I dare not say what I would about the speech—in which there is but a single mistake of fact, and that one which has nothing to do with the action of myself or the officers of the Regiment, because of your highly complimentary mention of myself. I thank you most sincerely for putting on record in this form, what is on record elsewhere, the early action of myself as Brigadier-General, Lieutenant-Governor Jones, of New York, then Colonel of the Regiment, and yourself, in relation to putting in proper discipline the military forces of Massachusetts to meet the great crisis which it did meet first of all. Please accept my assurances of reciprocation of the

cordial friendship which has for so many years been between us." My subsequent efforts to learn from General Butler what the mistaken fact was proved unsuccessful.

The edition of one thousand copies of the oration having been exhausted, it is the intention to issue for distribution among Comrades and Libraries a new edition and to bind with it this address, together with the Judge Brown and the "First Defenders" controversies referred to hereinafter, which are too voluminous to be quoted on this occasion.

It was one of the purposes of my comrades in inviting the preparation of the oration to correct the public misapprehension of the conflict in Baltimore derived from accounts narrating it as a single contest of the regiment as a whole with the mob instead, as was the fact, of an accidental series of three encounters of three separate detachments under different commanders, entirely disconnected and out of sight and sound of each other. This purpose seems to have been effectually accomplished.

It was also the intention to avail ourselves of that opportunity more or less extensively to set forth the peculiar distinctions to which the "Old Sixth" was entitled, and to differentiate them from the conceded accomplishments of other organizations in that grand army of patriots who followed your lead. No praise is too great for the merits of the "Minute Men of '61," whether of Massachusetts or elsewhere. The time for the "Old Sixth" to speak for itself is fast passing away forever. The record must be left clear even at the expense of some trouble. Since the publication of the oration I have been called upon to appear in print in defense of your exclusive rights to coveted honors which you alone had

earned. Some of these attempts have in friendly rivalry claimed precedence of readiness and they have produced no feeling of resentment ; others, more serious and emanating from a less friendly source, have sought to disparage the danger of the situation in Baltimore and the magnitude of the undertaking which the "Old Sixth" accomplished in forcing a passage through that city. "The First Defenders of Washington," as their title indicates, contest your right to the credit of saving from capture the Capital of your country. While you will not yield in silence to such an assumption, no more will you deny the honor due to them for patriotic devotion and prompt sacrifice of selfishness in the hour of the country's danger. The "First Defenders" consisted of four or five detached companies of Pennsylvania militia, residing in the vicinity of Pottsville, a place located at about 100 miles from Washington ; who, without battalion organization or officers, or uniforms, arms or equipments, on the afternoon of the eighteenth day of April, 1861, started for Washington under the escort of a Battery of the United States Army, which had been ordered to Washington by a route which passed through a portion of Baltimore. In that city they were not molested, excepting that one of their colored attendants was hit with a stone, so as to draw blood. Thus escorted, and in this helpless plight, they reached Washington about the same time on the 18th of April that you, as a Regiment, fully organized, armed and equipped, were arriving at Philadelphia, about the same distance from Baltimore that their homes were from Washington ; and your march had then already been more than 300 miles from home. The Capital sadly needed "First," or any kind of "Defenders," when, twenty-four hours later, you arrived.

For the eight days following, Washington was beleaguered and communication was cut off from the North. You heard of and saw an organization of citizens calling itself the "Clay Battalion," which, on the 18th of April, volunteered to defend Washington, and was disbanded a few days after your arrival, but I doubt if you ever heard of the "First Defenders" as an organization, under that, or any other name, or ever saw them, excepting as occasional Pennsylvanians astray, until, long years afterwards, in the year 1886, they appeared in print, and again appeared at the encampment of the "Grand Army of the Republic," in Washington, in the year 1892, upon which occasions the "First Defenders" were armed with a certificate of the late Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, that they were the first "troops" to arrive in Washington, and with another certificate from Gen. U. S. Grant, saying, that until he was informed of their claim he had always supposed the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts were the first troops to reach Washington. Upon the occasion of that grand encampment they made strenuous application for that place of highest honor, the right of the column of the Veterans of the War, in the proposed grand march up Pennsylvania Avenue, which position had, by the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, been assigned to the "Old Sixth." Through the opposition of Gen. Jones, this last claim of the "First Defenders" was frustrated. The "First Defenders," whatever their other merits may or may not have been, are certainly entitled to appreciation for their *staying* qualities, for they were again heard from as applying to Congress for a medal as the "First Defenders" of the Capital. The proofs which General Jones and I furnished (see New York *Evening Post*, February 12, 1896)

brought the "First Defenders" to the conclusion that if permitted their petition would be withdrawn; and so was it. Possibly you may be of the opinion that the Representatives of Massachusetts in Congress should, after so much persistence, have forced the issue, which you had not sought, and called upon Congress to settle this question by voting the medal to the "Old Sixth" as the real and true "First Defenders."

The only other instance which will be referred to was a book entitled "Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861. A Study of the War by George William Brown, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Baltimore and Mayor of the City in 1861; published in Vol. III. of the Series of Johns Hopkins University's Studies in Historical and Political Science."

This is a prominent and ambitious attempt to belittle the affair in Baltimore and to disparage your conduct therein, coupled with a purpose of eulogizing the brave deeds and the patriotic character of the city authorities and the police, including their commanding officer, Marshal Kane, who, on the 19th of April, and after the fight, telegraphed to Bradley N. Johnson, at Frederick, Md., as follows: "Streets red with Maryland blood; send express over the mountains of Maryland and Virginia for the riflemen to come without delay. Fresh hordes will be down upon us to-morrow. We will fight them and whip them or die." It requires but little consideration to locate the writer of this dispatch in his proper place in the Rebellion, when it is understood that the "hordes" he referred to were loyal and peaceable troops obeying the call of the President of the United States to defend Washington, and that Baltimore offered the only passage to the Capital from the loyal States. After a

short study of that dispatch, it will not require much proof of the fact that if you were not beaten back or annihilated in the streets of Baltimore, it was not the lack of disposition, but of preparation and ability, on the part of the authorities of Baltimore, that saved you. Only a brief reference can here be made to Judge Brown's book of many pages. The New York *Independent* of June 2d, 1886, contains a review of it. In my experience in the streets of Baltimore, I did not meet Mayor Brown, but I did meet several of his policemen, and exchanged compliments with them. I was not fascinated with their manners or with their patriotism. The first time I ever met Mayor Brown was on Sunday forenoon, April 21, 1861, when, as your representative, I visited the White House to ask of the President or General Scott that the rations supplied to the "Old Sixth" should be such as could be eaten, as those supplied were absolutely offensive. President Lincoln came out to meet me from a Cabinet meeting, followed by General Scott, Mayor Brown and other Maryland officials, who afterwards claimed that they were there for the purpose of exacting from the President of the United States the pledge that he would not in the future allow Northern troops to cross Maryland on their way to Washington, and it was claimed that this pledge was given. General Scott said, in answer to my application, "The Massachusetts Sixth Regiment shall have anything it wants. We depend upon the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment to defend this Capital." Mr. Lincoln introduced to me the Mayor of Baltimore, saying that he had just assured them that he did all he could to protect our Regiment on the Friday before, and asked me if I confirmed that statement. Smarting under our recent experience in

Baltimore, I so plainly refused to confirm it, and so pointedly alluded to my experience with his police and citizens, that the Mayor turned from me with apparent disinclination for further intercourse. His book was printed after the oration was published, but it nowhere refers to the oration, although in several places it indicates a knowledge of its contents. Judge Brown finds nothing of pluck or patriotism to praise in a single regiment of militia which dared to force its way through a hostile and turbulent city of 200,000 inhabitants, and that did so force its way, with the risk of annihilation and actually at the cost of much bloodshed, and this, too, without one particle of support, moral or physical, from the city authorities until its own determination had assured victory, and yet this contributor to the Johns Hopkins University's Study in Historical and Political Science represents that when Marshal Kane, with his fifty policemen, more or less, intervened between the troops and the mob and threatened to fire his pistol at the mob, it recoiled from the police force "like water from a rock," and that thereafter there occurred little difficulty in the troops reaching their station. Johns Hopkins' History, and probably no other reliable history, never recorded such a fortunate rescue from danger, by half a hundred policemen, of a trained and armed body of soldiers, of many times their number, who, before such rescue and without any assistance, had successfully forced the greater part of its march, after losing four killed and thirty-six wounded, and after expending upon that rebellious mob 1,500 rounds of ammunition, killing of it an unknown number, estimated at 100, and wounding nine times as many, in all probability, although the number could never be definitely ascertained.

This fortieth anniversary seems an appropriate time for the refutation of adverse claims and a characterization of malicious attacks, and I propose to assign that task to disinterested histories contemporary with the Rebellion period, extracts from a few of which, taken at random, will be convincing of the views of your contemporaries held of your services.

To avoid misleading, from even the most immaterial inaccuracies in the details occurring in the extracts cited, it may be useful to recall that the oration compressed most of your peculiar distinctions into the legend,

“FIRST TO VOLUNTEER—FIRST IN THE FIELD—FIRST TO SHED ITS BLOOD—FIRST TO TRIUMPH.”

To substantiate these claims, convincing facts were cited in the oration, and among them the following :

FIRST TO VOLUNTEER.

The tender of the “Old Sixth” (as a fully organized, uniformed and armed Regiment, it must be remembered), took place on the 19th of January, 1861, just three months before the fight in Baltimore. Unimpeachable records prove this tender. Who shows the tender of a regiment at an earlier date? It was not an organization improvised for the occasion, but even then was “old.” Some of its company charters dated back to 1775, and some of us could trace lineal descent of patriotic services through Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill and the War of 1812, at the time that resolution of tender was offered. When it marched for Washington, the “Old Sixth,” strengthened by three detached companies, numbered about 700, including two Field officers, the Staff and the Band. In the

streets of Baltimore, the detachment, under the immediate command of the Colonel, consisted of six companies, aggregating about 400 men, one of them (G) having 100; that under my immediate command as Major (Company K, Captain Sampson, of Boston) numbered about 62; and that under Captain Follansbee consisted of four companies, in all about 220 men. It is obviously immaterial, under this specification, at what time any individual or other body less than an effective regiment tendered their services. It could in no event contradict your claim.

FIRST IN THE FIELD.

The call for 75,000 volunteers by President Lincoln was dated April 15, 1861. The order did not reach Boston until the 16th, and Albany until the 17th. By a private dispatch, Governor Andrew was notified of this call on the 15th, and on the same day he issued his Special Order No. 14 for the assembly of the 3d, 4th, 6th and 8th Regiments forthwith on Boston Common, for the purpose of proceeding to Washington. Colonel Jones, on the afternoon of the 15th, received his order, and that night notified the companies of the Regiment, scattered through about thirty cities and towns, to appear at Lowell, the Headquarters, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 16th. At that hour the Field, excepting the Lieut.-Colonel, Staff, Band and Regiment, uniformed, armed and equipped, reported ready for duty. At about noon of the 16th, the Regiment reported to the Governor at the State House ready for duty. It, on the 17th, at about dark, took the train and started for Washington, arriving at New York City at about sunrise on the 18th, and arriving at Philadelphia at about sunset the same day. It left Philadelphia about

one o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and arrived at Baltimore at noon and fought its way through that city, and arrived at Washington at about sunset on the 19th, a distance of nearly five hundred miles from the homes of most of you. It will be difficult to recall the name of any full regiment "in the field" before the "Old Sixth." Any organization less than an effective regiment cannot count under this specification. As individuals and as companies you were "in the field" before daylight of the 16th. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 16th, as a Regiment, you had left homes, with all of the sacrifice and distress which that implies, had left your Armories, and were at Headquarters as a Regiment of soldiers, formed in column, awaiting the order which should assign you to the duty before you. From that morning hour of nine o'clock, and especially from the hour of noon of that 16th day, when you reported at Boston ready for the march to Washington, you were "in the field." The exigencies of State or Nation which delayed you in Boston until the 17th does not militate against the conclusion that the Regiment was "in the field" awaiting orders. Was it not "in the field" when, in the night of the 17th, it passed through Massachusetts and Connecticut, preceding all other Regiments; when, on the 18th, it passed through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, preceding all other Regiments called to Washington under the orders of the President of the United States? This is not a question of any body of less importance than a complete and effective Regiment being first "in the field;" neither is it the question of which one of the noble companies of "Minute Men," as such, first reached Boston, or even which one of the Massachusetts Regiments first, on the 17th, crossed the State of Massachusetts;

for the "Old Sixth" was already "in the field" as a Regiment, on the 16th. The same inexorable facts apply to the so-called "First Defenders," who, when on the morning or noon of the 16th, the "Old Sixth" was as a Regiment already "in the field," were still, in their helpless condition, at their own homes in Pennsylvania, awaiting escort. In any event, they are not in this competition, for they were not a regiment. Upon the whole, was not the "Old Sixth" the first Regiment in the field?

FIRST TO SHED ITS BLOOD.

No one contests your dear relationship to the first martyrs who shed their blood for the preservation of the Union, unless the "First Defenders" intend to be taken seriously when they parade the fact conspicuously that on the 18th of April their colored attendant was struck on the nose so that it bled on the pavements of Baltimore. The inference they draw seems to be that, as the 18th is before the 19th, therefore a happening on the 19th cannot be "first." This logic might prove staggering to your claim if only the colored boy, or even they, were a Regiment as implied in this specification. Not being a Regiment, they have no standing as a contestant. Was this shedding of blood on the 18th in consequence of Baltimore's prejudice against color, or was it for such a grand principle as preservation or destruction of the Union of the States? If one of the "First Defenders" was assaulted on principle, why did not the other "First Defenders" slay the traitors, as the "Old Sixth" did? If this was really the blood of martyrdom, then the streets of Baltimore was the place for atonement, even if it must be exacted by the spilling of other blood. There is a chance for the suspicion that the claim that

this was a sacrifice of blood in the War for the Union, fit to be set against the sacrifice made by the "Old Sixth," is an afterthought. Surely it did not arouse the country. Who ever heard of the fame of the 18th day of April in consequence of that instance of racial antipathy? Many have heard of the 19th of April through the traditions of Lexington and Concord; through the fact that Washington on that date proclaimed that peace was established after the Revolution; through the fact that sacred blood was spilled in the streets of Baltimore by the "Old Sixth" on that day; through the tribute to that date by making it a holiday in this renowned Commonwealth. But who celebrates the 18th of April, except the "First Defenders"?

FIRST "TO TRIUMPH."

Lexicographers say that triumph is the state of being victorious. Victory implies contest. Do the "First Defenders" enter the lists under this specification? If any one triumphed in their procession through Baltimore in search of uniforms, arms and equipments, was it not their escort? History does not furnish us with any occasion that escort had for contest. So far as appears, it took the usual "rout step with arms at will," and on the whole it had a placid experience. Other than Judge Brown's claim of the triumph of Marshal Kane, when his mob recoiled from the sight of his pistol and his threat to shoot, "like water from the rock," there appears to be no competitor for this triumph, if any triumph there was. Judge Brown seems to doubt of any triumph worth speaking of. Nevertheless, few will question its being a triumph for a Regiment unaccustomed to war to force itself to the death through a rebellion-ridden city to rescue

from impending destruction the National Government and Capital. The Confederate leaders and their Baltimore sympathizers knew too well that to make Baltimore impassable to Northern troops was to give immediate and immense triumph to the Confederate cause.

APPEAL TO CONTEMPORARIES.

What do contemporaries say of the "Old Sixth" ?

President Lincoln said to Colonel Jones on your arrival at Washington : " Thank God you are here. If you had not come we should have been in the hands of the rebels before morning. Your brave boys have saved the Capital. God bless them."

Wendell Phillips, in a speech in Boston, April 21, 1861 (p. 400), said : " The War, then, is not aggressive, but in self defense, and Washington has become the Thermopylæ of Liberty and Justice. Rather than surrender that Capital, cover every square foot of it with a living body ; crowd it with millions of men, and empty every bank vault at the North to pay the cost. Teach the world once for all that North America belongs to the Stars and Stripes, and under them no man shall wear a chain." * * (p. 403). " Cannon think in the Nineteenth Century ; and you must put the North in the right before you can justify her in the face of the world ; before you can pour Massachusetts like an avalanche through the streets of Baltimore and carry Lexington on the 19th of April south of Mason and Dixon's line. Let us take an honest pride in the fact that our Sixth Regiment made a way for itself through Baltimore and was the first to reach the National Capital. In this war Massachusetts has a right to be first in the field" (p.

' ' During this long and weary week we have

waited to hear the Northern conscience assert its purpose. It comes at last. Massachusetts blood has consecrated the streets of Baltimore, and those stones are now too sacred to be trodden by slaves. You and I owe it to those young martyrs, you and I owe it, that their blood shall be the seed of no mere empty triumph, but that the negro shall teach his child to bless them for centuries to come." * * "It was a holy war—that for Independence; this is a holier and the last—that for Liberty."

"History of the War in America, by Comte de Paris" (Vol. I., p. 134, : "The Stars and Bars were adopted March 4th, 1861" * * (Vol. I., p. 134). "On March 6th the Montgomery Congress ordered a levy of 100,000 men," * * and, "March 11, adopted a project of a Constitution." * * (p. 145): "Her (Baltimore's) location on the railway line which connects Washington to the great cities of the North imparted to her a peculiar importance. Consequently the accomplices of the South, who were numerous in Baltimore, determined to seize the first opportunity that might offer to drag that city into rebellion. The arrival of the troops which the North was sending for the purpose of protecting Washington against a *coup de main* furnished them with an excellent pretext. It was determined to oppose their passage as the greatest service that could be rendered to the Confederate cause. The populace, exasperated by the destruction of the Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and stirred up by the Confederates, were to take charge of the matter; the authorities did not interfere. When the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, with a Battalion of Pennsylvania Volunteers, arrived at the station, an im-

mense crowd bore down upon them. * * The soldiers had to defend themselves, and the first discharge of musketry, which had considerable effect, opened them a passage. But the aggressors being armed rally, and a regular battle ensues between the small band of Federal troops and the crowd which presses them on all sides. At last the Massachusetts soldiers rejoin their comrades at the Southern station ; and getting on board a train of cars that is waiting for them, they slowly proceed towards Washington, followed by the enraged crowd. Baltimore was thenceforth in the possession of the Secessionists, who were fully determined to take advantage of the situation of that city to interrupt all communication between Washington and the North. * * Deprived of all sources of information from the North, the Capital of the Union was soon wrapped in mournful silence."

"Four years with the Army of the Potomac by Regis de Trobriand, Baronet, Major-General U. S. A. (p. 56).

"Whoever saw New York on this day of patriotic infection can never forget the grandeur and the strangeness of the sight : the feverish excitement of the people, the busy swarm at the approaches to the militia armories, the stream of humanity crowds the streets towards the recruiting offices. * * An inspiration of fire had passed over the multitude. * * It was not, however, the Empire State which, in the midst of this universal outburst, had the honor first to reply to the call of the threatened Government. She was preceded by Massachusetts. * * On the 18th of April the Sixth Massachusetts passed through New York, drums beating, flags flying, in the midst of the acclamations of the populace assembled to

greet its passage through the city, the advance guard of the National Army. Mingled with the crowd, I admired the fine bearing of the volunteers, studied the double character of bravery and intelligence imprinted upon their faces, and clapped my hands to the last company. * * At Baltimore, a city devoted to the Southern cause, the people raised a riot to stop the passage of the Yankee Regiment. It went through, notwithstanding, but at the cost of a bloody combat, in which several lives were lost on both sides. * * This was an event of great importance, for the reason that it directly menaced the communications with the Free States of the Federal Capital enclosed within Maryland.

War Pictures from the South, by B. Estvan, Colonel of Cavalry in the Confederate Army."

(p. 38) "The government at Washington was not idle while these movements were occurring at the South. * * The men who first responded to the call of their President were the Volunteer Militia Regiments of Massachusetts who hurried to Washington for the protection of their President and the Republic. * * On the news arriving of the approach of these troops, the vagabond population of the place (Baltimore), always ready for mischief, became highly excited, whilst the police, although well acquainted with the intentions of the mob, offered little or no opposition. This passive conduct of the police authorities can only be construed as actually favoring the riot. * * The rails were torn up and barricades erected in the streets. * * At the word "Fire!" a deadly volley was discharged at the rioters, who, armed with knives and revolvers, commenced a struggle against the military.

The soldiers forced their way, despite repeated attacks, to the railway station; * * there they found awaiting them a still more enraged multitude. * * The scene at the station became terrific. The soldiers having taken their seats in the carriages, the mob continued to abuse them, threatening them with their knives and revolvers, howling and cursing at them incessantly.

“Massachusetts Register and Military Record, Serial Number XCIV, 1862.”

(p. 143) “19th of April in Boston.” “The Nineteenth of April, 1861, will not soon be forgotten. It became one of the sacred days of American history—we may say of the history of Liberty and of the race. (p. 144.) But the great feature of the day was the reception of the news of the attack upon the Sixth Regiment in Baltimore and its successful passage through the city. * * Men gathered thick in the streets, devouring the bulletin boards with their eyes. The crowds grew excited, uneasy, turbulent. They felt that they all stood at the door of battle in this attack upon their brothers who had left them but a few hours before. * * The news came that the glorious Sixth had fought their way through, when the shout of exultation ran along the streets which told that Massachusetts honored Massachusetts still. It was the first blood shed, the first victory, and she had the honor as in the first Revolution. The Stars and Stripes never looked more glorious than on that night in the eyes of the sons of the Old Bay State. * * (p. 147) May 1st. The remains of the three brave men who perished in the streets of Baltimore, as the first sacrifice of the war, arrived in the city. * * They were received by

the Governor, his Aides and the Independent Corps of Cadets and escorted to King's Chapel. * * As the bodies passed, all hats were removed, men did not speak to each other on the walk ; they were silent, but felt war, terrible war. * * These were the first fruits of fame plucked from the Rebellion. The historic interest attached to the old church and its location in the centre of the city gave an unusual solemnity to the scene. The neighboring housetops and the windows and the streets were filled with spectators. All were anxious to see consecrated anew those old walls where gathered the Fathers of the Revolution to take sage counsel in war."

(p. 152) "It is an interesting item to see the counties which furnished the three months' men who first rallied to meet the front of Rebellion. Old Middlesex bears off the palm in numbers. She sent 939 commissioned officers and men—882 privates and 57 commissioned officers. Essex stands along close by her side, for she sent 71 commissioned officers and 857 privates, being 928 in all. Norfolk came next, sending 21 commissioned officers and 391 privates, in all 412."

(p. 192) "As soon as these cars (those containing all of the Regiment except the four marching companies) passed, the rebels, some 10,000 strong, and composed mainly of the roughs, which distinguished that city, made preparations more effectually to prevent the passage of the remaining troops. They barricaded the streets and removed the rails from the track, rendering passage by the cars impossible, and Companies C and D of Lowell and I of Lawrence and L of Stoneham found that they should be compelled either to force their way on foot through the hostile ranks or return. The latter alternative never occurred to these gallant

men, for on to Washington was their inspiring thought. * * Leaving the cars they formed and heroically breasted the storm which so fearfully raged around them. * * But the soldiers heeded not; they were bound on a holy mission, and prepared to execute it regardless of attack or insult. Captain Follansbee, being the senior officer present, took the post of honor, and the companies started at once to rejoin the Regiment. The rabble which had followed and assaulted them now increased rapidly; and perceiving the small number of troops—less than 300—they became emboldened and increased their violence as the brave soldiers marshalled themselves for the contest amidst the thousands who had surrounded them, and who were intent on their destruction. An eye-witness writes, * * The military behaved admirably, and still abstained from firing upon their assailants. * * When two of the soldiers had been killed, and the wounded had been conveyed to places of safety, the troops at last, exasperated and maddened by the treatment they had received, commenced returning the fire singly, killing several and wounding a large number of the rioters; but at no one time did a single platoon fire in volley. The volunteers, after a protracted and severe struggle, at last succeeded in reaching the station, bearing with them in triumph many of the wounded. The calm courage and heroic bearing of the troops spoke volumes for the sons of Massachusetts, who, though marching under a fire of the most embarrassing description, and opposed to overwhelming odds, nevertheless succeeded in accomplishing their purpose, and effected a passage, through crowded streets, a distance of over a mile and a half—a feat not easily accomplished by so small a body of men when opposed to such tremendous odds.' ”

"Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis," by Ben Perley Poore.

(Vol. 2, p. 75) "The long expected crisis came at last. Seven thousand armed Confederates attacked the 70 Union soldiers who garrisoned Fort Sumter, and forced them to haul down the Stars and Stripes, on the 11th of April, 1861."

"Four days afterwards President Lincoln issued his Proclamation, calling for 75,000 militiamen, 'To maintain the honor, the integrity and the existence of our National Government.' * * This proclamation was flashed over the wires throughout the Northern States, like the fiery cross of Rhoderick Dhu, which summoned his clans to the rendezvous, and it was everywhere received with the beating of drums and the ringing notes of the bugle calling the defenders of the Capital to their colors * * . (p. 75) "The first troops arriving at the National Capital were four companies of unarmed and ununiformed Pennsylvanians, who came from the mining districts, expecting to find uniforms, arms and equipments on their arrival at Washington * *. With one of the companies was the customary colored attendant, whose duty it was on parade to carry the target or a pail of ice water. He had been struck on the head in Baltimore. * * The next day came the 'Old Massachusetts Sixth,' which had been shot and stoned on its passage through Baltimore, and which returned the fire with fatal effect. The Sixth was quartered in the Senate wing of the Capitol. Colonel Jones occupied the Vice-President's chair in the Senate Chamber, his colors hanging over his head from the reporters' gallery. At the Clerk's desk before him Adjutant Farr and Paymaster Plais-
ted were busy with their evening report, while

Major Watson, with Quartermaster Monroe, were seeing that the companies were distributed in the various corridors and obtaining their rations. After a four-and-twenty hours' fast the men had each a ration of bacon, bread and coffee, which they had to prepare at the furnace fires in the basement. The moment hunger was appeased the cushioned seats in the galleries were occupied by those fortunate enough to obtain such luxurious sleeping accommodations, while others bunked on the tiled floor, with their knapsacks for pillows, and wrapped in their blankets.

"A History of Massachusetts in the Civil War, by William Schouler, late Adjutant-General."

(p. 23) "January 23, 1861. Governor Andrew notified the House of the tender of the Sixth Regiment. * * (p. 54) During the week, and particularly after the Sixth Regiment had been attacked in Baltimore, the enthusiasm and resolution of the people were intense. * * (p. 158) The Secretary of War telegraphed: 'Send the troops by railroad; they will arrive quicker; the route through Baltimore is now open.' In consequence of this dispatch the route was changed, and the Sixth Regiment was forwarded by rail, although * * steamers were in readiness to take the Regiment by sea. Had the route not been changed the bloodshed in Baltimore on the ever memorable 19th of April would have been avoided. How the Secretary of War could have believed the route through Baltimore was safe it is difficult to understand. * * (p. 58) if, as may have been supposed, he was aware of the schemes which had been planned in Baltimore to assassinate Mr. Lincoln. * * (p. 65). Such was the condition of affairs along the line of that road

when the Sixth Regiment reached Philadelphia on the 18th of April. * * (p. 68) The Sixth Regiment was mustered on the 16th at Lowell. * * It arrived at Boston at one o'clock, where it met with a cordial reception. The crowds followed it to Faneuil Hall and from there to Boylston Hall, where its headquarters were established. (p. 72) At eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 17th the Sixth Regiment marched from Boylston Hall to the State House, where it received the new rifle muskets in exchange for smooth bores. * * * Colonel Jones received the colors and pledged himself and the Regiment that they should never be disgraced. At seven that evening the Sixth marched to the depot of the Boston and Worcester Railroad and embarked by the land route to New York. At the depot and along the entire line of road, they received one continual ovation. The Regiment reached New York at sunrise on the 18th, having been in the cars all night. The march down Broadway * * to the Jersey City Ferry is described as one of the grand and effective scenes ever witnessed. The wildest enthusiasm inspired all classes ! Strong men wept like tenderly nurtured women and silently implored the blessing of Heaven upon the Regiment and the State which placed it at the extreme right of the Union column. (p. 73) On crossing the river the troops were met by a dense crowd of Jersey men and women. * * The passage across New Jersey was marked with similar scenes. * * At Newark they were received with a salute of artillery, and also at Trenton which was ordered by the Governor of the State. The reception at Philadelphia was a fitting climax to what had taken place elsewhere. * * I doubt if Old Massachusetts ever, before or since, received such encomiums. The Regiment reached Philadelphia

at seven o'clock in the evening, partook of a bountiful supper at the Continental Hotel, and was quartered for the night at the Girard House. * * (p. 91) The famous Sixth Regiment arrived at Philadelphia, as we have already said, on the afternoon of the 18th of April. This Regiment has the undisputed honor of having been the first to reach Baltimore and the first to sacrifice life in the great war. Its passage through Baltimore, a city of 200,000 inhabitants, more than half of whom were rebels; the attack upon it by the mob, the death of four and the wounding of thirty-six of its members, on the memorable 19th of April sent a thrill through the hearts of the nation and aroused it like a giant to defend its life. This was the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, in which on the soil of Massachusetts the first blood was shed in the struggle for Independence in 1775. This Regiment came from the County of Middlesex in which are 'Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill' and some of the men who were attacked in Baltimore were the direct descendants of the men who breasted the power of England in those memorable contests. (p. 95) It appears that on arriving at the Susquehanna they took on a Pennsylvania Regiment called 'Small's Brigade,' having about 1,000 unarmed and ununiformed men on their way to Washington. These made the train very heavy, and caused a change of the order in which the cars containing the Sixth were arranged when the Regiment left Philadelphia. This was not known until afterwards. It interfered with previous orders, and accounts in a degree, for the separation of the Regiment in Baltimore. (p. 96) It was the expectation that the entire Regiment would march through Baltimore to the Washington depot in con-

formity with previous orders. The companies in the forward cars were being drawn across the city while those in the rear cars were in the depot waiting for orders to file out. A writer and eye witness says : ' No orders came to file out ; and in a few minutes, all of the cars forward of that occupied by Captain Sampson's Company disappeared. We knew nothing of the movements of the balance of the Regiment, as no intimation had been transmitted to us of the change in the order. In the meanwhile the mob increased in numbers about the depot. Soon the car moved on. At the first turn of a street it was thrown from the track. The men were ordered to remain in the car until it was again put on the track. The mob now began to throw stones and brickbats, some of which entered the car. On Pratt Street the mob surrounded it ; the car was made a complete wreck. Shots were fired by the mob, which were returned by the Company and was kept up, with more or less spirit, until the Company reached the Washington station, and joined the other companies.' Major Watson was with this Company in its perilous passage * * * * * (p. 97) "The mob howled like wolves around the Southern depot, where the Regiment now was, and threw stones at the cars after the men were seated. Several of the mob were shot by our men from the cars while waiting to start. The Regiment reached Washington at five in the afternoon, and was received by the loyal public who surrounded the depot with the wildest enthusiasm. Soon after it marched to the Capitol building, and was quartered in the Senate Chamber and the rooms connected with it. There, under the roof of the Capitol, were sheltered the men who first marched to save us, and in whose

ranks the first blood had been shed and the first lives sacrificed in its defence."

"Drum-Beat of the Nation, by Charles Carleton Coffin."

(p. 4) "The uprising of the people. Since the founding of the Nation, men had never looked into one another's faces as on Saturday evening, April 13, 1861. Never had there been such sinking of hearts and hopes as at the sunset hour of that day of gloom. People wept as they weep when looking down into the coffin of a departed friend. The flag that had never before been dishonored, the brightest banner that ever waved on earth, the emblem of the world's best hope—insulted! Bitter the thought! Never before such a Sunday in the Western Hemisphere or in the history of the human race—on which thirty millions of people pondered the all absorbing question whether the Union and the government of the people was to live or die. Monday morning—the answer is on their lips. It is to live. * * (p. 49) One State was ready to respond to the call of the President. * * Massachusetts had been foremost in the Revolutionary War. * * During 1860, the Governor, Nathaniel P. Banks, looking into the future, and apprehending the coming of war, had taken measures to bring the militia to a high degree of efficiency. There had been a muster of all of the troops of the State on the historic field of Concord. His successor, John A. Andrew, also looked into the future, and saw the necessity of having the troops ready to respond at any moment to any call which might be made upon them. * * During the month of January Governor Andrew ordered the Colonels of Regiments to ascertain

who of their command would be ready to respond in the instant to any call. During the month of February 2,000 overcoats were made and other equipments were provided. 'If you have troops ready forward them at once to Washington,' is the message which came to him. Out of the State House men hastened with orders. Twenty companies are wanted. The soldiers are scattered far and wide in more than twenty towns, driving teams upon their farms, making shoes, pushing the plane; some are clerks in counting rooms, or laborers in mills where spindles are whirling and shuttles are flying. * * It is four o'clock in the afternoon when a messenger rides up to the house of Captain Knott V. Martin. The Captain has killed a pig and is ready to dress it when the messenger hands him a slip of paper. With knife in hand he read it. 'You are ordered to appear with your Company on Boston Common at the earliest possible period.' He throws down the knife to put on his uniform. 'What will you do with the pig?' asks Mrs. Martin. '— the pig.' Not an instant does he wait; the members of his Company must be summoned, his knapsack packed. Major B. F. Watson of Lawrence is a lawyer. He has important cases in court, with interests of clients at stake, but he turns the key of his office door. Months will pass before he again enters it. The spiders can spin their webs in peace across the windows through the coming summer. The dust will be thick upon his briefs before he will again ponder points of law. General Benjamin F. Butler leaves his multitudinous law business to take command of the troops hastening to the rendezvous. Morning dawns, and in every village there is beating of drums and gathering of citizens to see the soldiers take their

departure. The day is dark and dreary, the wind east, the storm clouds flying in from the sea, but the streets are filled with people. There is a steady tramping of feet upon the pavement, a swinging of hats and loud hurrahs as the companies arrive, marching to Fanueil Hall, the building where the nation in its infancy was cradled ; the Sixth Regiment is first to leave. A crowd assembles to witness its departure and rend the air with their cheers. The next morning the troops are in New York, marching down Broadway beneath a sea of banners. Hundreds of thousands of people to cheer them.

* * At Philadelphia they sat down to a sumptuous entertainment provided by the citizens. In their loyalty they cannot do enough for the men who, at a moment's notice, have left everything to save Washington from the hands of the Confederates. April 19th. It is the anniversary of Lexington and Concord * *. They are in Maryland, a slave State, which the secessionists hope to secure to the Confederacy. * * One by one the soldiers drop. Luther Ladd, Sumner H. Needham, Charles A. Taylor and Addison O. Whitney are killed—the first to give their lives that the Nation might live. The ranks close and the troops move on. The mob divides before the advancing column as the air divides before the arrow shot from the bow. Besides the four killed thirty-six are wounded. Of the ruffians no one will ever know how many went down. The Regiment reaches the cars and the train moves on to Washington. * * While the cars are carrying the Massachusetts troops to the Capital of the Nation the people throughout the country are holding mass meetings.

* * In every village drums begin to beat. From flagstaff and steeple wave the Stars and Stripes. * * The feeling becomes intense when they learn what is

going on in Baltimore. By order of the Mayor of the city the bridges on the railroads to Philadelphia and Harrisburg were burned so that no more troops could reach Baltimore. * * 'I will prophesy' said L. P. Walker, Confederate Secretary War at Montgomery, 'that the flag of the Confederacy will float over the Capitol at Washington before the first day of May.'" (p. 463) "When the war began the newspapers of the South boastingly set forth the superior qualities and bravery of the Confederate soldiers, and had much to say about their chivalry, and indulged in many expressions of contempt for the soldiers of the Union, and employed insulting epithets. *That period had passed.* The men marching beneath the Stars and Stripes had exhibited bravery in battle, constancy and steadfastness under defeat, and many qualities which ever win admiration. The Union soldiers when the war began had little doubt of their ability to brush the Confederates aside, make their way to Richmond, reopen the Mississippi and re-establish the authority of the United States throughout the South. They did not believe that the men who were not accustomed to labor would be able to endure the hardships and fatigue of military campaigns. With the progress of the war egotism, expectations and all illusion passed away. *Soldiers from the North and soldiers from the South alike proved their manhood. Respect had taken the place of disdain and contempt. There was no personal hatred. The men in blue and the men in gray alike were fighting for ideas and principles which to them were dearer than life.*"

Comrades: If after the lapse of forty years your achievements are rightly understood, and your title to

your own is no longer contested, you may at least hope to rest from controversy and enjoy, in contemplation, the past history of your beloved Country with which you have been so honorably connected. It is but little you claim, and that claim despoils none of the patriots in the great war. They faithfully served according to their lights and their opportunity—but you marched. You emulated the example of the good wife of the minister who had himself received a call. Some of the parishioners asked the son if his father intended to accept his new call. He said he did not know. "Father is up-stairs praying for light—but mother is packing." You were packing. The call came, and in your judgment it was a call to works rather than to prayer. You instantly perceived that Democracy was summoned to its trial by fire, and you volunteered impetuously to insure her a triumphant verdict for all time and for all people. You, Veterans, are one by one and rapidly departing, but the fire of patriotism which you kindled—kindled—burns brighter than ever before on the altar of your Country. Your immortal rally and triumphant march irresistably led to the fulfillment of that glorious prophecy of Daniel Webster: "Liberty and Union, one and inseperable, now and forever;" and your alacrity entitled you "to snatch the first fruits of fame plucked from the Great Rebellion."

Survivors of the seven hundred who fought on the 19th of April, 1861, and who fondly linger and dwell upon the inspiring theme of the greatest of all modern wars, you cannot be unaware that you are surrounded by a new and listless generation in whom your song of national danger, of patriotic devotion, of vast sacrifices, of great and triumphant victory, of the

Union of the United States preserved, and the honor of her glorious flag vindicated, awakens only the languid interest of a minstrelsy of the past. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that you leave to posterity the substantial fruits of an inestimable and undying example of strenuous patriotism. With a promptitude which must always be cited as marvelous, you sprang to the relief of your country in its distress, without price or condition, but for the love of the Union and of the flag. You boldly and bravely opened wide the door of battle in the grandest of wars—the war for Liberty—which, before it closed, freed millions of slaves, liberated from disastrous thralldom multitudes of involuntary and helpless slaveholders, cleared the escutcheon of the Republic from every stain, and awakened among your countrymen a consciousness of manly and responsible strength, together with a sense that with it comes the obligation to use it for the benefit and uplifting of weaker mankind, and resulting finally in the emancipation from ages of tyranny of the islands of the Eastern and the Western seas, who may henceforth look up with confidence to the Stars and Stripes for their redemption and their freedom among men.

Have you no claim upon the extraordinary things which, in the forty years since you mustered and marched, have *inevitably* come to pass? Who can limit the influence of a good example? You undeniably led two millions of loyal men to battle for the Republic. Your blood, first shed in the holy cause, thrilled the sluggish blood in Northern veins and sent it coursing with such an irresistible torrent that Slavery and Rebellion were strangled in each other's embrace; your quick and uncalculating response to the distressed appeal of the

tottering Union and your sacrificial cry, "All for Freedom," eventuated in a united country of whose military power the world is taking note and whose industrial forces are traversing the globe conquering and to conquer in the lead of all the nations.

Veterans, Minute Men, rest on your laurels, calmly convinced that "God's in His Heaven; all's right with the world."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat ;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat ;
Oh, be swift my soul, to answer him ! be jubilant, my feet !
Our God is marching on."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS SEEN BY A LIFELONG
DEMOCRAT,

AFTER GOING THROUGH BALTIMORE.

My slight individual knowledge of Abraham Lincoln was during his first term as President, and was comprised in two interviews at the White House, one at the request of the officers of my regiment and the other at Mr. Lincoln's request, and to a brief correspondence of which I still retain two of his autograph letters, all, interviews and correspondence, having some connection with each other, although in dates separated by several months.

I first saw him on Sunday morning, April 21st, 1861, near the entrance to the Cabinet chamber in the White House. At the urgent request of the captains of the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, I called upon Maj.-Gen. Winfield Scott, then commanding the United States Army. I was unattended. There is no special importance in the facts I am about to state unless it be remembered that this Sunday was but six days after the firing upon Sumter, and two days after the affair of Baltimore, that Washington and the whole country was surging under an excitement almost impossible to describe, and that I was the representative of a body of men who had been recently making history.

On the nineteenth of January, 1861, upon my motion, the commanders of its companies, Colonel Jones presiding, adopted a resolution tendering the services of the "Sixth" to the President. This first volunteering so impressed the authorities that the Sixth was first called by the President on the sixteenth day of April, 1861; it rallied from thirty cities and towns, fully armed and equipped, and traveled over 500 miles with such alacrity that it reached Washington in advance of all other organized and armed forces in the afternoon of the nineteenth of April, after a conflict in the streets of Baltimore in which it had four men killed, thirty-six wounded by gunshots, and many otherwise injured, all of its unarmed men being driven back. It left many dead and wounded rebels behind it.

By unfortunate circumstances which divided the troops into three separate detachments, I, then only second in command, was compelled to fight my way through Baltimore at the head of about sixty men of Company K, of Boston. This detachment both drew and shed the first blood in the great Rebellion, although the main conflict of the day took place soon after with the detachment following, commanded for the time by Captain Follansbee. Baltimore, with its 200,000 inhabitants, its prevail-

* *The Independent* of April 4, 1895, published a notable collection of tributes to Abraham Lincoln from those who had known him more or less intimately; among them was the following article. The collection was afterwards published in book form, entitled "Abraham Lincoln, Tributes from his Associates," etc., etc.

ing Southern sympathies, and its notorious "Plug Ugly" element, was the strategic key by which the disunionists proposed to lock the loyal North out of the nation's Capital until its occupation in force from Baltimore and the South should compel the recognition of the Confederacy as the *de-facto* Government. A single regiment, untrained in war, exhibiting the pluck to break through this cordon of rebellion, could be hailed only with relief by the beleaguered Government and by that fraction of the residents of Washington who entertained positive sentiments of loyalty to the Union. Colonel Jones has testified that the President met the Sixth at the railroad station and said that if its arrival had been delayed a single day Washington would have been in the hands of the rebels. It will appear later that the commanding general of the army entertained similar sentiments. Later on Congress recorded its tribute in a resolution tendering its thanks

"To the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers for the alacrity with which they responded to the call of the President, and the patriotism and bravery which they displayed on the nineteenth of April last in fighting their way through the City of Baltimore on their march to the defense of the Federal Capital."

The Sixth took possession of the Capital, and intrenched itself therein as though it had come to stay. It had not had a square meal since it left Philadelphia, the Thursday night before. Its experience had sharpened its appetite, for Baltimore had tendered no refreshments. Either by accident or by the design of some traitorous commissary, the presence of the "salt horse," as the boys familiarly called the meat which was offered them, could be detected by more of the senses than one, and was repulsive to all of them, and the large round crackers usually called "Hardtack," the accompanying delicacy, were so adamant from composition or antiquity as to withstand most assaults and, when conquered, to afford no sustenance. They were soon nicknamed "The regulars," from their supposed invincibility. Unless the veracity of veterans is to be questioned, certain retained specimens of these hard biscuit, have since the Rebellion served as wheels to the play carts of two or three generations of veteran babies. My mission on that Sunday morning was to induce General Scott to order a change in this diet. The situation mitigated the presumption of such an application to an officer of such exalted rank. I found General Scott attending a meeting of the President and his Cabinet, convened to listen to the demands of the authorities of Maryland, including the Mayor of Baltimore, that no troops should pass over the sacred soil of Maryland in reaching Washington, and I thus accidentally became a participant in a meeting which has become historic, and of which, so far as I know, I am now the only survivor. Being summoned to the open door of the room, General Scott received my salute and my story. He drew himself up to the most impressive development of his magnificent proportions, and grandly announced: "The Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts, sir, shall have anything it wants; we

depend upon the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts to save the Capital of the country, sir." All fear of the "guard tent" for my presumption disappeared.

The General's statement was true, certainly upon that Sunday, and for four or five days thereafter, and until Gen. B. F. Butler, with the Seventh Regiment of New York and the Eighth of Massachusetts, arrived in Washington, by way of Annapolis.

It seems to be the fact that the President and the Commanding General placed little reliance upon the semi-military and semi-political clubs, adorned with names of prominent politicians such as "Cassius M. Clay Invincibles," "Hannibal Hamlin Guards," or upon the three or four unarmed and uncombined companies of Pennsylvania militia who in *post-bellum* times, have published themselves as "First Defenders of the Capital."

While General Scott was speaking with me, President Lincoln came forward, and, after shaking hands, said he would like to introduce me to the Mayor of Baltimore and to learn if I could confirm the statements he had been making to the effect that he had personally exerted himself to protect the Sixth during its passage through Baltimore, and that he had marched much of the way through the city at its head. The Mayor and others, in the meantime, had gathered around and within hearing of the President's remarks. I fear my manner was not complimentary toward the Mayor. I am sure my speech was not. So recent had been my "baptism of fire" I doubtless bore my testimony with indiscreet zeal. I said, in effect, that under the circumstances it was unfortunate for the Mayor of Baltimore, as such, to appeal to me for a certificate of character; that we, as citizen soldiers, had endeavored to pass through Baltimore, not only in a peaceable and proper manner, but strictly in obedience to superior order, that insult and assault should be submitted to, and that wounds with firearms alone should justify retaliation; that at the beginning of our passage the police had threatened me that not a man of us would be allowed to go through the city alive; and that our graves had been already dug; that neither the police, nor other officials, in any instance to my knowledge, had attempted any protection; that prior to that moment I had never seen the Mayor; that I had been informed by one of the captains of one of the detachments that the Mayor did march about one hundred yards beside him, when he left saying that the position was too hot for him. So far as I was concerned, the interview was then ended by my withdrawing, the President having said that the rations should be made satisfactory.

Many times since I have recalled the scene. The Mayor's look of intense disgust, the astonishing dignity of the Commanding General, and the expression, half sad, half quizzical on the face of the President at the evident infelicity of his introduction. If I did not leave that distinguished presence with my reputation for integrity unimpaired, the pressure of Abraham Lincoln's honest hand, as we parted, deceived me. My mission, at all events, was successful and the rations improved.

While Washington remained isolated from the North, the Sixth, by General Scott's orders, daily marched in the streets and practiced the street firing-drill, while the air was vocal with muttered curses; and more than one night the Regiment slept upon its arms in the Senate Chamber under orders to surround the White House at the first alarm, and defend the President from attack.

When I marched with the Sixth, I was a young lawyer, the owner and editor of a Democratic newspaper, and also Postmaster of Lawrence, Mass., which position I had held under the Administrations of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan. The Postmaster-General was the brother-in-law of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who in Lawrence had been my nearest neighbor and my friend. This brought me many kind attentions and courtesies, and also unsolicited assurances that my military services would insure my retention as Postmaster; but I persistently declined to associate officeholding with the simple duty I had rendered to my convictions as an American citizen. I now hold the proofs that even when the very existence of the Union was menaced efforts were being made to supplant me as Postmaster and also that, without my knowledge, counter efforts were being made by leading Republicans to have me retained. One of the aspirants to the place is now living in honorable old age to whom the President gave his assurance that I should be retained in office. Early in the month of May, when Washington was filling up with loyal troops, the Sixth was ordered to the Relay House, about eight miles from Baltimore, to guard the junction of the Washington branch with the main line of the railroad which led to Harper's Ferry, where the rebel forces under General Joseph Johnston were located and were receiving material aid from Baltimore. At this camp the Sixth spent the remainder of its original term of enlistment, and the short additional term volunteered by it on account of the insecurity felt by the Government after the first Bull Run disaster. The regiment elected me Lieutenant-Colonel soon after reaching the Relay House, and owing to Colonel Jones' promotion I thereafter commanded the Sixth. While stationed there I was informed that the United States Government would accept from me its first independent regiment. This was under a misapprehension of its authority as it was afterward defined. Some correspondence took place upon the subject, and I abandoned the idea for various reasons, mostly personal, and the Government apparently understood my determination. I certainly declined an invitation in writing dated July 13th, from one having authority, to visit Washington personally and confer with the Secretary of War upon the subject, and I dropped the matter out of mind.

About the first of August, the Sixth returned to Boston; being the first regiment to march, its career had excited great attention, and its reception along the homeward route was remarkable. Its every movement was chronicled in the press, and ovations, festivities, triumphal arches and oratory greeted it at every point. The famous War Governor, John A. Andrew, dismissed the regiment on Boston Common, in an Executive Order, saying of the Sixth:

"It was the first which went forward to the defense of the National Capital. It passed through Baltimore, despite the cowardly assault upon it, and was the first to reach Washington. Its gallant conduct has reflected new luster upon the Commonwealth, and has given new historic interest to the nineteenth of April. It has returned after more than three months of active and responsible service. It will be received by our people with warm hearts and generous hands."

Within one week after my return my removal from the office of Postmaster was published. In reply to a telegraph inquiry if the rumor was true, the President, on the eighth day of August, wrote:

"If I signed a paper, in making a change in the office, it was among others, without my being conscious of this particular one."

He inclosed the Postmaster-General's memorandum, saying that the change had been made because the United States Government had tendered me the command of a regiment, and it was supposed that I was raising that regiment for service during the War. The President added:

"I shall talk fully with the Postmaster-General on the subject when I next see him."

This removal caused intense and widespread excitement. The exercise of political proscription under the circumstances, and when the life of the nation hung in the balance, and the Government was believed to be doomed unless the services of the great body of the Northern Democrats could be relied upon, caused apprehension in the minds of friends of the Union. Republicans and Democrats alike joined in denouncing the act. Letters came to me from men high in political and federal office denouncing it, and I afterward learned that complaints were poured into the ears of the authorities at Washington. The newspapers of both parties in many parts of the North vied with each other in condemning the policy, and particularly its application to me, and I received more than my meed of praise. I heard nothing more from Washington. As the theme began to oppress me as too personal and possibly detrimental to the cause of the country, I wrote an editorial for my newspaper deprecating the agitation, which was widely copied but failed to stop the clamor. To show the spirit I quote a few words of it:

"The opposition to the removal comes perhaps not so much because of partiality to the present incumbent and his official conduct as from the unfortunate influence it may excite (limited, to be sure) upon the interests of the national cause at this critical juncture. * * * We have little disposition to criminate or rebel, especially when the Government needs a hearty support. Place and patronage are sweet, but the dear country and the flag have far superior claims. As heretofore, while differing in political sentiment on many subjects from the Administration, we shall sustain with all our humble abilities all measures tending to vindicate the national honor, and shall only sound the alarm when incompetency or unfaithfulness are apparent. Thus far we have endeavored to do the duty due from every citizen for the protection thrown

around him by a good Government. The performance of that simple and natural duty entitles us to no special favors, and *none have been claimed.*"

After this I ceased to pay much attention to the affair, and departed for a much-needed vacation. The clamor in the newspapers, it now appears, continued.* A letter, dated the thirty-first of August, 1861, from a high official, informed me that the President was asking about my new regiment, and I was urged to take it to the front. I did not then appreciate the reason for the writing of that letter, and I did not reply to it, as I considered that the writer knew I had abandoned the project. Late in the month of September, 1861, while at the seashore, I received a telegram from the Postmaster-General that the President wanted to see me in Washington immediately. I reluctantly took the journey in response, and only because I believed the invitation was properly to be considered a command. When, on the first day of October, I asked an attendant at the White House to take my card to the President, saying that he had sent for me, to my amazement I was speedily conducted through the waiting throng which filled the corridors, and was introduced into the President's private office, the same room where I had formerly been in-

* As a fair sample of the editorial comments of the Northern press, without distinction of party, the following may be quoted from the *Boston Daily Courier*, August 10, 1861.

POLITICAL PROSCRIPTION.

"The removal of Col. B. F. Watson from the Postmastership of the city of Lawrence was a shameful act of party proscription, meriting the scorn of every high-minded patriot and of every generous man. The action, inconsistent with an honest abnegation of political favoritism, is rendered doubly odious by the peculiar circumstances attending it. The decapitated official was entitled to the highest consideration from the Administration, if gratitude is a virtue, and if valuable and patriotic service may be deemed a recommendation to favor.

President Lincoln and his associates in authority, by universal testimony, would have been helpless, or perhaps prisoners in rebel hands, but for the gallant and timely conduct of the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts soldiers. Those noble volunteers are public benefactors, and the Administration and the country owe them an immeasurable debt of gratitude.

Lieut. Col. Watson, without a single day's opportunity for preparation, left an extensive professional business, and other important matters which urgently claimed his attention, to lead that advance column of freemen to the defense of the beleaguered Capital and its frightened inmates. In person he commanded the portion of the troops that withstood the murderous assault in Baltimore, and the men of Capt. Sampson's immediate command can testify to the courage, self-possession and ability displayed by him on that trying occasion. During the major part of the time while in service he commanded the regiment, securing its warm confidence and esteem, and served both the original enlistment of three months and a further term of ten days. He returned home, welcomed with cordial greetings by his fellow citizens, just in season to receive intelligence of his removal from office. While at Washington, in those hours of terrible suspense, Col. Watson was honored with cordial attentions from gentlemen high in official stations, and received from them voluntary assurances that he would be retained, and prominent Massachusetts Republicans, unknown to him and without solicitation, urged the Administration to continue him in office. The Lawrence *Sentinel*, owned and controlled by him, has firmly and zealously supported the war for the preservation of the Union, and forborne the discussion of political differences. The head and point of his offending consists solely in the fact that he is a Democrat!

The citizens of Lawrence, with nearly perfect unanimity, condemn the act and pronounce it an outrage, and none join more cordially in the general feeling of regret and indignation than the great majority of the Republicans. None dispute the fidelity, courtesy and success with which Col. Watson has performed his official duties. Honesty and capacity in public office, and gallant conduct in the country's defense, when the Republic is struggling for its very existence, should not be thus required 'by an Administration that professes to marshal the people regardless of party, to a patriotic warfare for Liberty and Union."

introduced to President Pierce and President Buchanan. Mr. Lincoln was alone. He met me in the most cordial manner, and earnestly entered upon the statement of why I had been sent for. If I were at liberty and had the ability to do justice to his manner and language upon that occasion, the narrative could not fail to deepen the reader's conviction that Abraham Lincoln was not only patriotic, true and noble, but anxious to repair any fault he might have committed, and that his reputation for homely and forcible picturesqueness of speech had been fairly earned. His manner was kind and familiar. He immediately referred to my official decapitation by him, and condemned the act in as severe terms as those of any of his newspaper critics. He referred in enthusiastic and complimentary terms to the services the Sixth had rendered, and characterized my removal by him as specially unfortunate, when I had been ready to stake my life in his defense. He said he was unaware of what he was doing in my removal, as those who had induced it did not at the time inform him, and they afterward explained that I had accepted the tendered regiment and would not care to retain the post office, particularly when I knew what efforts politicians were making to succeed me. In very forcible language he said he would instantly reinstate me if he did not propose to place me in a much better position. I listened until he closed with the inquiry as to what position would be agreeable to me. I then said I was seeking no office and wanted none. In the most earnest manner he said I must accept some appointment, so that it could be published that the Administration had rectified its unintentional wrong; that the act was believed to be injuriously affecting enlistments. I said that I had not complained of my removal; that my military services had been performed from a sense of duty, and office had never in the least influenced me; that I recognized the right to appoint his political friends to office, and that I saw no occasion for exception in my case. He said that the same patriotism which had induced me to make the sacrifices I had made must prevail upon me to accept some place, in view of the injury to the cause which the clamor at my removal would effect. He said in substance that I should be appointed to any office that was agreeable to me or that I would accept. I told him that I would do all I could to stop the criticism made on my behalf; that in time of war I could not accept any offer not connected with the military forces and that I had partially promised not to go again to the front. He then, jocosely I think, referred to the numerous appointments of brigadiers, and then said that a Paymastership of Volunteers was not only one of the most desirable positions in the army but one that might enable me to keep my promise. Without yielding my objection to office I admitted that his last suggestion offered the most plausible solution of the situation, but suggested that such a position in the regular army might more certainly insure my location near home. He said he would write to the Secretary and fix that. He wrote, read to me and then sealed the following letter, which I have never used, and the seal of which I never broke until after his assassination:

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 1st, 1861.

“HONORABLE SECRETARY OF WAR:

“*My dear Sir:*—The Postmaster-General and myself have special reasons for wishing to oblige Mr. Benjamin F. Watson, of Lawrence, Massachusetts. He has been appointed an Assistant Paymaster, or Paymaster of Volunteers, but wishes the same post in the regular army. If there is any vacancy, not committed to any other person, let Mr. Watson have it. If there be no such vacancy, oblige him, as far as you can, by sending him to service at the place which suits him best.

“Yours truly,

“A. LINCOLN.”

He then wrote on the envelope “Hon. Sec. of War,” and added a memorandum most necessary in those days when the Government buildings were filled with crowds vainly seeking personal interviews with officials. “Please see Mr. Watson.” No other justification existed for the statement in this letter, that I had been appointed, etc., than that I have herein narrated, excepting, probably, his determination to right that which he thought was a wrong, his desire to do nothing detrimental to the Union cause, his belief that he had hit upon that which I was bound patriotically to accept, and his decision that the appointment should be tendered whether accepted or not. I was gazetted paymaster all over the country the next morning, but I did not for six weeks thereafter finally conclude to accept the office. After the President had read his letter and I was about to retire, Gen. B. F. Butler was announced. He was then in his zenith and all governmental doors were open to him. In his peculiar manner the General scanned me from head to foot and demanded what had brought me there. I replied that the Commander-in-Chief had sent for me. In reply the General, in his rough way, informed the President that we were friends and neighbors, whereupon the President narrated to him what had taken place between us and said that he had been trying to induce me to accept office. To this General Butler replied that he wanted me to be appointed Paymaster of the Gulf, with permission to employ all requisite clerks, and he added, “I will go on his bond.” The President said it should be done accordingly. I said nothing. General Butler assumed that I was from that moment on his staff and made an appointment to call for me that evening at my hotel, and I left the President and the General together. That night I went with General Butler to visit the members of the Cabinet and heard the proposed expedition for the capture of New Orleans discussed in all its details. I subsequently accepted the office of Paymaster of Volunteers, and served until seriously disabled in the performance of duty, when, declining an appointment in the Veteran Reserve Corps, I resigned in October, 1864.

I never saw Abraham Lincoln again, but I shall carry through life the impression of his remarkable personality. It need not be claimed that he was a perfect man; at times he may have exhibited weakness on the side of amiability; but if he was thereby led into error his determination to be the fearless, upright man he was by nature, ultimately snapped asunder

all of the cords woven by the influence of the strong and ambitious men who surrounded him—such men as Sumner, Seward, Chase, Ben Wade, Oliver Morton and others. His strength is shown by the fact that while bearing the burden of the leadership of a country disrupted by a great and bloody conflict, which in the beginning was of doubtful issue, he curbed and controlled the extraordinary men who, in a generation of intellectual conflict, dethroned King Cotton and destroyed the mighty institution of Slavery, before which the fathers of the Revolution were impotent.

Notwithstanding Abraham Lincoln's humor, his whimsical playfulness of expression and his keen appreciation of wit, which were always evident, the impression made by him at the time of which I write was of a man anxious, weary and heavy laden, earnestly laboring to perform the duties laid upon him. This impression was of course deepened and made permanent by the time and manner of his tragic death. In my opinion he was the instrument chosen by Providence to effect the salvation of the Union and the triumph of the Flag.

MINUTE MEN

AND

EULOGY UPON MAJOR-GENERAL HINCKS.

MASSACHUSETTS MINUTE MEN OF '61.

The following correspondence effecting the amicable adjustment of the dates for the respective reunions of the "Old Sixth" Massachusetts Regiment Association and the Massachusetts Minute Men of '61, is reprinted from the "Boston Herald" and the "Grand Army Record" of 1890.

NEW YORK, March 25, 1890.

D. C. Sisson, Secretary of the Old Massachusetts 6th Regiment Association, Boston, Mass.

My Dear Comrade and Secretary:—Your letter received by me to-day gave me the first information that I had been elected vice-president for 1890 of the Association Massachusetts Three-Months' Volunteers, 1861. I duly appreciate the confidence implied by this honor conferred at the hands of Massachusetts veterans. I had no part in the origin of this new association, and certainly not in selecting the 19th of April as the day for its annual meeting. There are many reasons for a reunion of the three-months' volunteers, including the old 6th Regiment, but there are none that I can imagine for their celebrating, as such, the 19th day of April, unless it is intended thereby to do homage to the old 6th, for that day, in 1861, was rendered famous before many of these three-months' men volunteered at all, and before any of them fought, and solely through the achievements on that day, in Baltimore, of the old 6th Regiment, in consequence of which Gov. Andrew called the regiment "historic," and recorded its thanks.

The custom of the old 6th to celebrate each anniversary of April 19, 1861, has become venerable, and it behooves the survivors to maintain intact their peculiar institution and not to dilute a glory all their own by introducing elements possessing no efficacy tending to increase their special fame. On each recurring 19th of April, so long as I live, I intend to continue to meet with my comrades of the old 6th as the most appropriate way known to me of commemorating its conflict in the streets of Baltimore, and of perpetuating the fame of its dead, the first martyrs to the cause of the Union.

Upon any other day I shall be proud to meet annually with the gallant "Massachusetts three-months' volunteers."

Yours affectionately,

B. F. WATSON.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1890.

FRANK A. BROWN, Adjutant and Corresponding Secretary of Association of Massachusetts Three-Months' Volunteers of '61.

My Dear Comrade and Secretary:—I am this day in receipt of yours of the 3rd inst. notifying me of my election as vice-president, representing the old 6th Regiment in your association. Kindly convey to my comrades of the association my thanks for the honor conferred by the selection. No one can appreciate more than I do any recognition by the veterans of the late war tending to signifying regard for or confidence in me.

It would be unjust to your association, as well as to my comrades of the old Massachusetts 6th Regiment Association, if in this connection I failed to say that I disfavor your selection of the 19th day of April as the day for holding your reunions; and also disfavor the use by you of the motto "Lexington, April 19, 1775—Baltimore, April 19, 1861," for the reason, among others, that our 6th Regiment Association has long been accustomed to assemble on the 19th of April, being moved thereto by reasons which it believed justified the choice of that day. I can see no occasion for the other three-months' regiments selecting our day, rather than some other of the many days they themselves made famous by their bravery and sacrifices. I am confident the distinguished men and soldiers whose names appear as the officers of your association will agree with me that it will be better to select a day and motto made appropriate by the three-months' volunteers as such rather than seem to interfere with the choice which others have long since made.

I inclose herewith a copy of my letter to the secretary of the Sixth Regiment Association, which letter he has embodied in a circular to our comrades. I expressed similar sentiments last year to one of your members in a correspondence I had with him. I am confident that the Sixth Regiment Association will not unite with yours to meet on the 19th of April, because, among other reasons, it will tend to interfere with a custom we cherish. I am quite as confident that many of our comrades will be proud to meet with you upon any other day of the year. I sympathize with this view, and doing so, it will not, of course, be desirable for your association, or for me, that I should continue to be elected an officer of your association, while its annual reunions are continued on the 19th of April.

I have the honor to be and to remain, your obedient servant,

B. F. WATSON.

"BALTIMORE, APRIL 19, 1861."

Letter from the Executive Committee of Massachusetts Three-Months' Men.

COL. B. F. WATSON, New York City, N. Y.

Sir:—We are instructed by the executive committee of the Massachusetts three-months' men of 1861 to state, in reply to your favor of April

7, 1890, that there was no intention on the part of the executive committee to detract from or to appropriate to themselves any part of the record of the 6th Massachusetts regiment by the use of the motto, "Baltimore, April 19, 1861"; but that this motto, like that of "Lexington, April 19, 1775," was adopted in recognition of an historic incident in which every patriotic American feels an interest and takes a just pride. At the early meetings of the little band of survivors who were instrumental in creating the organization of the three-months' men the 6th Regiment was more largely represented than any other, and it was upon their suggestion that these mottoes were adopted. It will be remembered that the proclamation of the President calling for 75,000 three-months' volunteers was issued on the 15th of April, 1861, and before the close of the 16th of April every Massachusetts organization called upon had responded with a proffer of service, and the 3rd, 4th, 6th and 8th regiments had marched from their homes. The holding in reserve of the 5th regiment, 3rd battalion of rifles and Boston light artillery until it could be determined where their services would be most required, was a mere matter of detail, and did not affect any material result. They all responded to the call of the President, and were sent forward as early as practicable. The executive committee are of the opinion that the holding of the reunions upon the 19th of April is unjust to the Massachusetts three-months' men, as it gives color to the claims set up by a great number of organizations created in many places on the 16th, 17th and 18th of April, 1861, of priority of service to the Massachusetts troops who actually marched from their homes on the 16th, or proffered their services on or before that date and marched as required. The association has voted to hold its reunions in future on April 15 of each year. We are very respectfully, your friends and comrades,

EDWARD W. HINCKS,
HENRY WALKER,
FRANK A. BROWN.

Boston, April 28, 1890.

To Maj.-Gen. Edward W. Hincks, Col. Henry Walker and Adj. Francis A. Brown, the Executive Committee of Massachusetts Three-Months' Men of '61.

My Dear Friends and Comrades:—I was gratified by the receipt of your communication dated 28th ult., in reply to mine of the 7th ult., announcing that the association of Massachusetts Three-Months' Men of 1861 had determined to hold its annual reunion on the 15th instead of the 19th of April.

This decision does not surprise me, for it needed no gift of prophecy to predict the action under the circumstances of brave and considerate comrades. The selection of the 15th is most wise because it is appropriate and significant, that being the day upon which each of your organizations represented in your association, in advance of all others, eagerly responded to the President's call for volunteers, and both officers and

men on the day resolved as patriots to devote to the imperilled Union all that they held most precious, than which no higher claim for the veneration of their countrymen exists.

The well intentioned, but thoughtless and unauthorized tender to your association of the motto of the Old 6th Regiment, "Lexington, April 19, 1775—Baltimore, April 19, 1861," was liable to be misleading until reflection was had; then it could not escape attention that the 6th Regiment was entitled to its exclusive use in consequence of what it had done in 1861; and in consequence of what it had done in 1775 by the men of Lexington, whose lineal descendants fought at Baltimore.

The blood relationship between these two initial events in the martial history of our country is recognized by contemporary history. Brave men who have themselves justly earned the fame their country is proud of will not criticise the tenacity with which the survivors of the "Old Sixth" defend their title to credit for that devotion and valor which made the 19th of April thrice memorable in the calendar of this country.

I think the Massachusetts Three-Months' Men need not apprehend any successful claim that others were earlier than they to volunteer. By means of a telegram from Senator Henry Wilson to Gov. Andrew, sent unofficially on the 15th of April, Massachusetts was enabled to take precedence of her sister States by at least a day, in calling out her troops. It was perhaps in consequence of the fact that the 6th Regiment on the 19th day of January, 1861, through Gen. Butler, volunteered to the Government its service, and on the 16th day of April next following organized at its headquarters in Lowell, and on the same day reported ready for duty at Boston, that it had the honor to be first despatched into the opening conflict.

The happy selection of the 15th of April for the reunion of all Three-Months' Men will doubtless meet with unanimous approval from them, including the "Old 6th," as it can have no direct tendency to interfere with the 6th's accustomed observance of the 19th of April. I should certainly esteem it an honor to belong to your association and to be permitted to subscribe myself

Your comrade and friend,

B. F. WATSON.

New York, May 16, 1890.

(From the Grand Army Record, 1893.)

FANEUIL HALL.

The Annual Meeting of the Association of Minute Men of '61 took place at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on April 15, 1893. Some three hundred plates were laid. Col. B. F. Watson as President spoke substantially as follows:

COMRADES:—It is the pleasant duty of the office with which you have honored me to welcome, in your name, the distinguished guests whose

presence adds dignity and luster to our reunion to-day. I shall not fail to express your sense of obligation when I thank them for the honor conferred by their attendance, and for the anticipated pleasure of their words of friendship and approbation as this feast proceeds. They may be assured that you count it not the least among the rewards for duty done to your country in its time of need, that men of distinguished deeds and station favor you with their countenance and consideration.

Comrades—It is a subject for congratulation that so many of you have been able, and minded to assemble on this 32nd anniversary of the opening day of a Great War, in which, first and last, you bore such a conspicuous part, for the purpose of refreshing friendships formed in perilous times and cemented by common sacrifices. If there could exist any possible objection to these annual assemblages, those inclined to criticise could well afford, in view of your important services, to add their indulgence to your \$13 a month, without occasion to fear that you will be overpaid for doing, quickly and well, that which had to be done by you in view of the fact that others neglected sooner to do it. I am persuaded that no Veteran Soldier will deny that it is indeed fit and commendable that, with every recurring mid-April, so long as life shall last, you should relight the camp-fire in Faneuil Hall, to whose consecrated, patriotic memories you contributed no mean addition, when you promptly rallied within its walls and from thence began the march against the distant foes of the Union and the Flag.

Comrades—It does not detract from the consideration due to you for your military services to say, that in a four years' war you were only "Three-Months' Men."

I know your services cannot be thus limited, and that, on the contrary, more than 2,000 out of your 3,800 "Minute Men," re-enlisted for the war, contributing toward the efficiency of hundreds of new organizations, devoting their valor and their blood to the Union cause upon hundreds of battlefields, and sacrificing many noble lives upon the altar of their country.

It is, however, as "Minute Men," I contemplate you to-day. I say hold fast to that peculiar distinction, and float it on your banners when spring-time shall succeed spring-time as long as the years roll on. Single out from the calendar the month of April and lavish your affections upon it, for you have through inheritance and kinship possessed it as your own. April is significant in your country's history. The "Minute Men" of Concord and Lexington—grandsires of many of you—on the 19th of April, 1775, met the British Regulars at Concord Bridge; to close the Revolutionary War thus begun, Washington, on the 19th of April, 1783, proclaimed peace. In response to seceding States and the assault upon Sumter, you "Minute Men" on the 15th of April, 1861, rallied, mustered and marched. To close the Rebellion thus begun, on April 9, 1865, Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox. To complete the terrible sacrifice of patriotic blood on the altar of freedom, on April 13, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was foully assassinated.

Comrades—The fraternity of “Minute Men” must not die out. The spirit cultivated by the recollection of their timely deeds is too valuable to be lost. In times of sudden peril they stand in the same relation to the militia as the militia stands to the regular military forces. It is true that “Minute Men” are born and not made. But this fact in any community enhances the value of the traditions which perpetuate the memory of their deeds as a pervading influence toward heroic action. It is doubtful whether this proud Commonwealth of ours can point to two events in her history which contribute more to her deserved eminence and fame among her sister States than two April achievements of her “Minute Men,” who made her the leader in repelling the attack when the liberties of the colonies and the Union of the States were assailed.

Minute Men, Massachusetts at least should never be reluctant to do you honor.

(From the Grand Army Record of May, 1894.)

EULOGY UPON MAJOR-GEN. E. W. HINCKS,

Delivered before the Massachusetts “Minute Men of ’61” in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., April 14, 1894.

MINUTE MEN OF ’61 AND COMRADES:—I thank you for conferring upon me the honor of presenting a brief minute, for record in your affectionate memories, to express our deep grief over the death, and our fond pride in the life, of our late Comrade, Companion and President, Major-General Edward Winslow Hincks.

While I deprecate your failure to select, for this purpose, one more competent to do justice to the subject, I am forced to recognize, as influencing your choice, his friendship towards me, which I cannot forget his showing on an occasion like this, in this historic hall, and in your presence. I recall with a sense of obligation the fact that you thereupon honored me by electing me his immediate successor in office as your President.

When General Hincks upon that occasion, with kindly speech and accustomed generosity, recalled to you that our introduction to each other occurred near Baltimore soon after the memorable march of the Old Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers through that city on the 19th of April, 1861, he omitted, with characteristic modesty, to mention the incidents of that midnight meeting, illustrated, as it was, by traits which afterwards characterized his glorious record throughout the war—that abnegation of self in favor of the cause in which his heart was enlisted, that noblest of valor which seeks no language in which to portray its own deeds, and which scorns to profit by the detraction of others; that readiness for daring action when ordinary men stand paralyzed.

With your permission, Comrades, in furtherance of my duty upon

this occasion, I will briefly relate the incident referred to by General Hincks, but which he modestly failed to describe. The important part he took in it—if any part of it—has never before, to my knowledge, been published.

Maryland in 1861 was hostile territory. It had welcomed with bloody hands the Union Soldiers. Its representatives demanded from President Lincoln, his Cabinet, and Lieutenant-General Scott assembled at the White House Sunday morning, April 21, 1861, that no Union troops should come within its borders. Of that memorable interview I am the sole surviving witness. Maryland was inimical to the Union, and hated the "Yankees." Everywhere "Maryland, my Maryland" was sung as the slogan of ardent hope for relief from Northern affiliation through the triumph of a Southern Confederacy. After the affair of the 19th of April in Baltimore, that city, although the thoroughfare from the North to Washington, had been closed against all Union troops. Early in the following month of May General Butler commenced the occupation of the Relay House Heights, situated about eight miles from Baltimore and commanding the railroad leading from that city to Washington, Harper's Ferry and the West. For that purpose he ordered there the Sixth Massachusetts Volunteers, then at the Capitol at Washington; and he subsequently strengthened the position with Cook's Battery and other troops. On the 13th day of May General Butler with his entire force, excepting about 75 men, moved from the Relay House upon Baltimore, and, during the night of that day, occupied it and reduced it to obedience to the National Government. As he was leaving the Relay House upon that occasion he detached me from my regiment with orders to assume command of the post and, at the same time, ordered that I should proceed that night by rail, with such force as would volunteer to accompany me to the city of Frederick, a distance of about 40 miles, there to arrest Ross Winans, the well-known and wealthy citizen of Baltimore, who had been actively fomenting and assisting rebellion, and to send him in custody to Annapolis. Winans was supposed to be attending the session of the Maryland Legislature, which had adjourned from Annapolis within the Union lines, to Frederick within protecting distance of the Confederate forces. Assurance was given me that telegraphic communication along the railroad had been destroyed, thus lessening the danger to the expedition from General Johnston, who commanded the Confederates at Harper's Ferry. At nightfall I started with 50 volunteers but we were so delayed by a severe storm which lasted all night, and were so detained by parleying with Maryland Home Guards paraded to oppose our progress, that Frederick was reached only just before dawn of the 14th, when we were surprised to learn that Winans and several of his associates in the Legislature had in fact been warned by telegraph, and had sought security within the Confederate lines. Luckily we succeeded in effecting our return to the Relay House. That night my guards were doubled at the junction of the two railroads at the Relay House and instructed to arrest Winans should he attempt during the

night to return to Baltimore, and, in case of resistance, to notify me at the Camp about half a mile distant. After midnight I was aroused by firing. My little array of about 50 men was hastily formed, and we were about to march in response to the alarm when an officer approached and introduced himself as Colonel Hincks. With kind allusion to the 19th of April, he stated that he and his command, the 8th Regiment of Massachusetts had arrived in the vicinity during my absence at Frederick; that they had been aroused by the alarm and were at hand and ready to proceed under my command, waiving all questions of rank and precedence. The assistance thus tendered was as welcome as was the prompt and gracious manner in which it was proffered. This fortunate acquisition of numbers and strength, doubtless, induced the armed and threatening friends of Winans to acquiesce, without bloodshed, in the night ride upon a locomotive to Annapolis to which we treated him. The friendship formed while Colonel Hincks and I together, at the head of the column, double quicked that half a mile in darkness, will last forever.

This eulogy upon the character and services of General Hincks in the late War needs, however, no aid from the glowing personal affection which I bring to the subject. His valuable services and notable achievements are enrolled on the pages of history. The time at my command does not permit more than a bare enumeration of the most prominent of his conspicuous public services and the honors and rank which they challenged and secured from his grateful and admiring countrymen; nor need their story again be rehearsed to his comrades who knew him so well, nor to this community in which he passed the greater part of his honorable and useful career, and which has so recently, upon the occasion of his death, witnessed the appreciative testimony of the local press. The patriotic ardor which inspired him, and influenced those about him, to fly to the rescue of the threatened Flag he loved so well; the quick surrender of all he cherished and all that he had acquired, or hoped for, the moment he recognized the nation's peril; the untiring and sleepless devotion of his unrivalled energy and his well-equipped mind to the preparation for the march to the front; his faultless capacity, as a Soldier, to obey without question and to command without arousing controversy; his steadfastness of bearing in moments of general excitement; and his calm control of himself, and of his command, in the emergency of battle; the undaunted moral and physical courage which always fitted him to observe with sagacity, to prepare without hesitation, to advance resolutely, or to withstand unflinchingly, and always by his leadership to inspire a valiant following when danger was to be encountered; all these are the familiar and cherished themes of many a reminiscent Camp Fire.

We need not lift the veil from his domestic life and his friendships to disclose that social excellence to which those who knew him best bear tender witness. The consensus of testimony is that, under all vicissitudes, he was the cultivated, considerate, dignified and upright man; the devoted, loving, sympathizing and self-sacrificing friend; the liberal, consistent and devoted Christian.

Character is the concrete result of continued and consistent deeds, and the likeness and relationship between the deeds and the character are rarely mistaken,

“For every tree is known by his own fruit. For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.”

It is in compliance with an amiable law of human nature that the friends of a departed hero dwell with special fondness upon the conspicuous deeds which have crowned his career with earthly fame. But, to the larger view, the best legacy of a patriot to his country and to posterity is found in the consistent life lessons and example he has transmitted to those who follow after. In other words, the man who makes a lasting impression upon his time, and his kind, is not the product of the common attributes of common clay; nor the favored result of circumstance and environment, of appearance, apparel, wealth or station, or of hardships or obscurity; *but it is the man of character*. Character is the consistent growth of a lifetime rather than the miraculous creation of fortuitous events; a structure bearing the lineaments of self in all stages of its progress; an individuality, which never loses its identity; a spirit, which unerringly discerns the right and attracts good men to follow it. Such characters are the strength of the Republic. The Book of Wisdom says:

“And even things without life, giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?

“For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?”

It is the favorite dictum that, “blood will tell.” It is equally true that more telling than blood is the inspiration which is the offspring of the desire and the courage for noble living.

When Edward Winslow Hincks was born at Bucksport in the State of Maine, on the 30th day of May, 1830, he inherited the blood of Chief Justice John Hincks of New Hampshire, and the blood of the Winslows of the Mayflower. But to him personally the Lord gave the noble spirit which vitalized and renewed his heritage. He began his eventful life at the tender age of 15 years by setting out alone from under the parental roof tree for Bangor, then the center of activity in the State, and selecting, as his first venture, employment in a newspaper printing office. Thus it is in evidence that ease and wealth were subordinate in his youthful mind to the acquisition of intelligence and influence. His removal to Boston, after four years, was an advance along the same general line. His wisdom in the choice of his life's work was supplemented by good judgment in selecting his associates, and in determining his aims, and by exhibiting such capacity for affairs that within six years after he reached Boston, at the age of twenty-five, he became one of his townsmen's chosen representatives in the councils of the city and of the State. Disregarding the then prevailing and unreasonable prejudice against the militia, with provident wisdom he resolved to obtain proficiency in a ser-

vice which he foresaw was likely to become important under a form of government which has no tolerance for a standing army. Possessed of a fine military instinct and aptitude, he made such progress in the mastery of the art of war, that subsequently he was fitted, without disparagement, to rank in the regular service with officers who had been educated at West Point. But, whether engaged in the civil or military service of the Commonwealth, he was filled with a patriotic zeal for his country's welfare and he kept in the advance upon the questions of public policy which in those days excited intense interest among all thoughtful people. His course of life during these years of probation had been diligently and consistently pursued and he was prepared for important duty but not a day too soon.

When the Nation was distracted with the apprehension of impending disaster whose precise nature none were wise enough to determine; when credit was prostrated, trade and commerce were paralyzed, and industry was without its reward; when the Ship of State drifted helplessly because of the impotency caused by divided counsels; when Treason, half disclosed and half concealed, made patriots tremble for the safety of the Union and the Flag; when the stoutest and the bravest stood aghast at a situation without a precedent, and the leaden skies hung low and threatening, then and in such a crisis—Comrades, you remember it well, and know that the picture is not overdrawn—then it was, on the 18th of December, 1860, that Adjutant Hincks anticipated all other volunteering by tendering his aid to Major Anderson for the defense of Fort Moultrie. It pleases me to place side by side with this statement that other fact, that the first volunteering of an organized and equipped regiment was made one month later, on the 19th day of January, 1861, by the colonel, field officers and commanders of companies of the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, the resolution embodying which I had the honor to present. It was Lieutenant-Colonel Hincks who led the van of the Eighth Regiment of Volunteers when it reached Boston, in response to the first call to arms by President Lincoln! It was he who led the Eighth to dare and to do at Perryville and Annapolis, and on its march across Maryland to Washington! It was Colonel Hincks who gallantly fought at Ball's Bluff in 1861, and upon the battlefields of Yorktown, West Point, Fair Oaks, Oak Grove, Peach Orchard, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, Glendale, Chantilly, South Mountain and Antietam in 1862; Baylor's Farm and Petersburg in 1864. Thrice wounded and once left upon the battlefield as dead, he finally, as Major-General Hincks, survived the war for nearly thirty years, during which period, notwithstanding extreme suffering from his wounds, he fulfilled the duties of positions of trust and responsibility. In his performance of the high trusts laid upon him during the four years of Civil War he earned the approbation of all who knew him, and no voice of detraction has ever been raised against him in the land. In this most notable war of modern times, and amongst those whose abilities and valor singled them out from among the million of their brave associates, he stood

conspicuous, and received unsolicited promotion from the rank of First Lieutenant to that of Major-General. May we not justly conclude that when General Hincks died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 14th, 1894, he left his ancestral blood a bequest of renewed distinction by the noble character which he had early planned and consistently builded?

What fraternal pride must the record awaken in the breast of his only remaining near relative, the brother whose honorable wounds are the badges of his own faithful service! How holy a heritage is an example like this for the young men of the Republic! What abiding faith in the perpetuity of the Union is warranted by the character and the life of such a citizen! With what glowing pride may we, my Comrades, Minute Men of '61, cherish the honor of such a Comrade and leader!

His memory shall abide in our hearts and in our lives to our latest day.

But as for him, after labor, struggle, achievement, and suffering, he has entered into the peace and blessedness which endure, the rest which we feel must be a refreshing and a renewal of the spirit for higher life, holier activities, and a brighter day!

“What would we give to our beloved?
 The hero's heart, to be unmoved;
 The poet's star-tuned harp, to sweep;
 The patriot's voice, to teach and rouse;
 The monarch's crown, to light the brows?
 He giveth His beloved, sleep.”

PATRIOTS' DAY.

PATRIOTS' DAY.

Extract from a speech to the survivors of the "Old Sixth" at Acton, Mass., April 19, 1895, upon the second annual observance of the day as Patriots' Day, upon which occasion eloquent addresses were made by Governor Greenhalge and the venerable Ex-Governor Boutwell.

COMRADES:—I prize beyond expression the privilege of being with you, and again accepting the bountiful hospitality of this ancient and patriotic town of Acton, as we commemorate the 34th Anniversary of the Fight of the "Old Sixth" in the streets of Baltimore. How this day and occasion refresh the story of friendships springing out of severe sacrifices and trying situations; how they unfold, in retrospect, the dark and desperate days of the Republic, when the skies above were leaden, the earth beneath trembled with the tread of calamity and the heart of the stoutest was faint: How irresistibly the 19th of April awakens great memories, mournful memories, proud memories, of the Minute Men of '61, the legitimate descendants of the men of Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill. When, as comparative strangers, we first met in '61, we were in the pride and vigor of youth. At the call of our distressed country we impetuously deserted the cherished joys of home and the diverse occupations of the farm, the work-shop, the mill, the mart and the professions, and quickly arrayed ourselves in the ranks of war. We became subject to one authority, we were animated with one common purpose, and, through experiences of fire and sacrifice, we were welded into one indissoluble brotherhood in the rank and file of the "Old Sixth." Then seven hundred strong, to-day we are less than half that number, with our natural force, man for man, greatly abated. The annual roll call brings no audible response from our first martyrs Charles A. Taylor, Addison Otis Whitney, Sumner Henry Needham and Luther Crawford Ladd; from Major Josiah A. Sawtell of the Field, the bluff and soldierly Adjutant Alpha B. Farr, the skillful and versatile Surgeon Norman Smith, of the Staff, from the fearless and kindly Captain John H. Dike of Company L, the quiet but intrepid Captain Harrison W. Pratt of Company G, the unostentatious but firm Captain Eusebius S. Clark of Company B, the genial and dauntless Captain A. S. Follansbee of Company C, the reliable and brave Captain James W. Hart of Company D, nor from the gallant Ansel D. Wass, Timothy A. Crowley, Dexter F. Parker and hosts of other honored dead whose names are starred in our affectionate memories and upon our Roster. While with wavering and depleted ranks we slowly retreat before our invincible foe, with common devotion we close around and resist his attempts to sever from us the three patriarchs of our no

longer youthful band, Chaplain Charles Babbidge of Pepperell, in whose culture, kindness and moral as well as soldierly courage we exult, in common with the people who have watched the increasing honors of his useful life of 89 years; Captain Daniel Tuttle of Company E of the same Acton that sent forth Captain Isaac Davis to lead the men of 1775 at North Concord Bridge, and there to offer up his life as a sacrifice for his Country's liberties. Those who know the deeds of the night of the 15th of April, 1861, in the rally, the march and the report for duty the next morning at Lowell of the Davis Guards, will see the patriotic parallel between these two devoted Acton Captains up to the point when one, dying in the battle front, perpetuated his fame so long as his Country's history is read, while the other, our Capt. Tuttle, after a faithful and brave campaign, still lives to receive the plaudits of those who profit by his sacrifices. May many more years be added to the 81 to which he has already attained. Our Third patriarch, Luke Smith, is also of Company E, and of that Acton which throughout its history has been prompt to "furnish the men." In '61 Luke Smith dutifully followed the example of his father, who marched and fought with Davis at Concord Bridge, for he followed Captain Tuttle to the field and through his service in the War of the Rebellion. Acton should and Acton will see to it that this patriarch of 82 years old shall want nothing which may comfort the body and cheer the spirit. And here, notwithstanding the wealth of materials, specification must stop, as it will be apparent to all considerate and thoughtful people that no history or oration, surely not these brief remarks, can record the individual incidents, though notable and brave, of such a campaign as that of "the Sixth." They go to make up the interest of the Camp Fire when Veterans entertain and are entertained by familiar rehearsals of personal exploits: Nor is it necessary to particularize, for in a brief word it may be demonstrated that the "Old Sixth" as an organization stands for notable things in which every member has a common heritage.





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